The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXXXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1937 NUMBER 1184

Contents

The Week 1

Editorials

- The Government's Part in Wages and Hours..... 3
- Is It War in China?..... 4
- Pennsylvania Points the Way..... 5
- Local Contributions to the Relief Burden..... 6

General Articles

- Sailor Beware.....Jonathan Mitchell 7
- Soviet China: II, The Long March.....Edgar Snow 9
- On the Labor Front.....Frank Winn and Albert G. Pickerell..... 12
- Escape (story).....Leon Dorais 16
- Washington Notes.....T. R. B. 18
- Other People's Money.....John T. Flynn 19
- The Bandwagon..... 20
- Street, Los Angeles (verse).....Josephine Miles 20

Correspondence 21

Books in Review

- Unbranded Steer.....Hamilton Basso 23
- The Older Romantics.....Robert Morss Lovett 23
- Spender's Left Hand.....Kenneth Burke 24
- Emperor of the Bourgeois.....Herman Simpson 25
- Trial by Fury.....Miriam Borgenicht 25
- The Advance on the Mind.....Grace Adams and George B. Wilbur..... 26
- Camera Who's Who.....Clara Gruening Stillman 27
- Books in Brief..... 27
- New Books: A Reader's List..... 28

The Week

THE Chinese crisis steadily drifted toward open war in the week ending August 3, as Japanese troops defeated a surprise attack on them in Tientsin and engaged in fighting in several places in the Peiping region, while Nanking announced that it would resist and sent large bodies of troops northward. . . . Foreigners in the fighting zone were endangered, but no decisive intervention on the part of the other powers seemed to be in prospect. . . . The U. S. government appeared to be reluctant to apply the neutrality legislation by proclaiming the existence of a state of war; a semi-official statement by Senator Pittman, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, counseled delay. . . . The Soviet Union protested to Japan the looting of the Soviet consulate in Tientsin by White Russians, the consulate having been deserted because it was in the zone of fighting. . . . No hope emerged of salvaging "non-intervention" in Spain. The counter-attack against the Loyalists' advance west of Madrid died down without decisive result, after heavy losses on both sides, but the Rebels extended their salient east of Madrid to a point where it threatened to cut the road between Madrid and Valencia. Apparently no formidable opposition was encountered. . . . The British government started a diplomatic offensive to improve relations with Mussolini by an exchange of personal letters between him and Prime Minister Chamberlain, and seemed to be moving again toward its old objective of an understanding among the four great west-European powers.

IN THE United States, Congress proceeded to consider pressing legislation in the hope of early adjournment. The Senate seemed ready to pass the revised Court bill, and did pass the wages and hours bill by a large majority, after considerably weakening the prohibition against child labor. Senator Wagner began the fight for his housing bill, which also was reported out by the House Committee having it in charge. Unexpected hostility to it developed, but it seems likely to pass. . . . A question arose as to whether the President could fill the vacancy in the Supreme Court while Congress was in recess; he was advised by the Attorney General that he could make a recess appointment, but a number of Senators indicated opposition to such a procedure. . . . Senator Copeland, now a candidate for Mayor of New York, showed his low standard of political behavior by trying to attach the anti-lynching bill—a measure in which he has previously shown no interest—as a rider to the wages-and-hours bill and other measures under consideration. It was a bid for the Negro vote, embarrassing to the genuine supporters of all the bills in question. . . . The New York situation continued to be confused, with Republican leaders evincing a desire to back Copeland, the Tammany candidate. It became uncertain whether LaGuardia would enter the Republican primaries. . . . No startling events occurred in the labor situation; organization and the signing of agreements proceeded in many parts of the country.

MR. CHARLES MICHELSON, publicity director for the Democratic National Committee, has recently taken on another job, and is being denounced for it with fervor in the anti-administration press. He has become advertising counselor for the Crosley Radio Corporation, which owns the high-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

powered station WLW in Cincinnati, and the charge is being widely circulated that this job was given him because of his influence in political circles. It is true that the director of publicity for the party in power is a man of importance in Washington, who should be careful about even the appearance of misusing his influence; but it is also true that the outcry against Mr. Michelson is far greater than the present facts justify. There is not the slightest evidence that he intends to exert any improper pressure on behalf of his new client, and it is at least arguable that the Federal Communications Commission may lean over backward in its dealings with the Crosley Company. The violence with which Mr. Michelson is being denounced is fresh evidence of the hysterical hatred most of the press has for the Roosevelt administration. It is evidence, too, that despite all the charges that freedom of the press has been impaired, there is still plenty of it to permit the publishers to sling mud when they want to.

A CORRESPONDENT recently in Montana reports that things are not going too well for Senator Burton K. Wheeler in his own state. Many of the miners and farmers who formerly supported him do not agree by any means with his fight against Mr. Roosevelt's Supreme Court plan. It is said that a rally for him at Great Falls, when he returned home recently, was a pretty dismal affair, with his progressive friends staying away in droves. It is rumored in Montana that Representative O'Connell, whose story is told in our Washington Notes this week, may run against Senator Wheeler in 1940. Mr. Wheeler's enemies are circulating copies of some of his recent anti-Roosevelt speeches, in the belief that the Senator has gone far beyond opposing the Court plan merely, and is now a thoroughgoing anti-New Dealer like Burke of Nebraska, King of Utah and other Tory Democrats. Political observers in Montana believe Senator Wheeler's fate may be linked to what the Supreme Court does in the future. If the Court continues to be liberal, Mr. Wheeler may ride out the storm; but should Mr. Chief Justice Hughes and Mr. Justice Roberts again create a conservative majority and start throwing progressive measures out the window, Mr. Wheeler may pay for his present position with his political life.

WE WERE just about to get excited over the record-breaking performance of the French liner "Normandie," which crossed the Atlantic in three days and twenty-three hours to establish a new east-to-west record, when the flying-boat "Cambria" of the Imperial Airways flew over the New Republic office. She had come from Southampton, England, in roughly twenty-four hours on a scheduled flight and had set no record, but we felt dreadfully old-fashioned writing about steamship speed at all in the face of the "Cambria's" almost unnoticed arrival. There is no doubt as to which record is more impressive: the "Normandie" has clipped a few hours off the old mark of the "Queen Mary," while the flying boats are making the run in schedules almost three days faster. On the other hand, we wouldn't advise the steamship companies to close their offices and scrap their express liners quite yet. The fact that the fastest time is now under four days (even if only by an hour) means that travel by boat is fast enough to offer the air services plenty of competition on a basis of speed alone. For many years to come the steamship companies will still appeal to those who have a high regard for safety and economy and the relaxation of a deck chair. There may even be a goodly number who wouldn't know what to do with their three extra days in Southampton if they had them.

BATISTA has long been the dictator of Cuba, as powerful—except for his obligations to important Wall Street financial interests—as Hitler or Mussolini. In the past, he has stayed in the background, but now he is changing his role. He has announced a new three-year plan for Cuba on the best fascist pattern, and has undertaken full responsibility to see that it is put into effect. The sugar, tobacco and mining industries will be controlled under new laws; there will be a fresh currency system, and at least the beginnings of a Cuban merchant marine. Foreigners will be excluded from employment and relations between employers and employees will be strictly controlled, on the familiar European model. A program for health and education is also announced, regarding which skepticism is permissible: we have seen too many such paper programs heralded under similar circumstances in the past and then come to nothing. Meanwhile, the tide of hostility to Batista continues to rise; it is a reasonable assumption that if he lost his support in the American State Department and in Wall Street, his dictatorship would not long survive.

WISCONSIN is demonstrating an admirable way of dealing with Law and Order Leagues, those fascist seedlings that spring up so "spontaneously" in areas where strikes are taking place. In this particular instance a CIO union called a strike against the Creamery Package Manufacturing Company at Fort Atkinson, a town of 5,500 people in the center of a rich dairying country. The union charged that the company refused to bargain collectively in good faith. Four weeks after the strike began the Fort Atkinson Law and Order League burst into bloom. A stone was thrown through the window of a strikebreaker's home and this "violence" provided the League with an ardently sought reason for existence. The sheriff deputized several score League members, many of them legionnaires, armed them and smashed the picket lines. Everything went as smoothly as Mussolini's dream of heaven until the League collided with Wisconsin's new labor-disputes act, known as the "little Wagner Act." This law forbids employers to interfere with self-organization of employees and the term employer is de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fined so broadly as to catch groups like the Law and Order League in its net. The state board issued a joint complaint against the company and the League, and hearings thus far have brought out that several officers of the League hold stock in the strikebound company, they have fostered "independent" unionism and have worked hand in glove with the employer. If the hearings result in a "cease and desist" order it may end such activities in Wisconsin.

UNITY between the International Federation of Socialist Students and the International Commission of Communist Students was achieved at a four-day Unification Congress held in Paris in mid-July. The Congress was called on motion of the Socialists at Oxford University, as reported in The New Republic for August 12, 1936, and was attended by 170 delegates from twenty-six countries. Organization took the form of a joint commission to be known as the International Student Alliance for Socialism. At present the commission consists of five communist, five socialist and three independent students and a basis is being laid to achieve full organic unity within a year. Joseph P. Lash, secretary of the American Student Union, took an active part in bringing about the alliance of the two internationals. The ASU could join as a body only if there were a world student union. Resolutions hailing the unity of the working-class parties in France and Spain were unanimously adopted; condemnation of the Trotskyists in Spain was also voted unanimously and a peace program through collective-security pacts was approved. The International Student Alliance for Socialism will work against fascism and war and for the increase and democratization of educational opportunities in all countries. Next year's Congress will be held in Madrid.

WE HAVE a feeling that Dr. Oscar Riddle ought to be sternly suppressed. Dr. Riddle is an authority on genetics, associated with the Carnegie Institution, and he made a speech the other day about the remarkable possibilities of forced growth through administering hormones extracted from the pituitary gland. Experiments on laboratory animals have resulted in increasing the size even in the cases of hereditary dwarfs. If and when this process is applied to man, Dr. Riddle sees it as overcoming the inferiority complexes of many short people, who are now embarrassed about their stature. Occasionally, as everyone knows, an inferiority complex expresses itself in terms of superiority, and a small man—Napoleon is the classic example—achieves great things just to make people stop joking about his size. Dr. Riddle is not talking about these people, but about genuinely timid and embarrassed folk. If the scientists will permit us to vote (and they probably won't) we should like to see an end put to the whole idea. There are far too many positive, dominating and aggressive people in our life already; and every time we stand in a street crowd viewing a parade or an automobile accident, we feel that the average person is already taller than he needs to be. What the world needs (to coin a phrase) is more small and timid people, who won't go around interfering with other men's lives, just because Dr. Riddle has been feeding them pituitary hormones.

The Government's Part in Wages and Hours

IN THE wages-and-hours bill, the administration is attempting to duplicate the one feature of the NRA concerning the benefit of which there can be little doubt. To put a bottom limit to wages and a top limit to hours, and thus to stop extreme exploitation of labor, is to protect the standard of life of the nation at its most vulnerable point, and ought to be beneficial to industry as a whole by eliminating the worst parasites on the system. An employer who exists by underpaying his labor takes his reward out of the general pool without putting back a sufficient amount of purchasing power to furnish an outlet for the products of other employers. At the same time he tends to force others down to his level. The chief faults of the NRA in this connection were, first, that it bribed employers to accept this regulation by allowing them concertedly to take measures which would boost prices or limit output, and second, that the wage-and-hour provisions were adopted in a hurried and unsystematic manner, without due regard for the problems involved. The new bill avoids these dangers by granting no power over prices and trade practices, and by delegating a good deal of authority to an administrative board in fixing standards. Questions have arisen, however, in drafting the legislation. The bill as passed by the Senate is likely to differ considerably from that to come from the House, and both versions are likely to be modified in conference. Let us consider a few of these questions.

One concerns the basic standards of wages and hours to be fixed in the law itself. Should they be high, or lower? Obviously it is desirable that labor should receive as large wages and work as short hours as are compatible with that amount of production which will provide the goods required for a desirable standard of living. On the other hand, there is a clear danger in attempting to set too high a standard merely by legislative edict, since it may in backward industries or regions restrict employment and production rather than the reverse, or it may be translated merely into a general increase in prices. We believe that the law itself should not attempt too much in the fixing of arbitrary limits. Legislation of this kind can be regarded merely as a means of avoiding the worse types of exploitation, rather than as a boost to labor standards as a whole. More ambitious measures would be required for the latter aim, since as long as prices and production are left to the operation of private enterprise, regulation of wages and hours cannot indefinitely increase

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor's real reward. If the Board is permitted to set better standards than those fixed in the law, wherever conditions warrant them, and if the setting of rates above the various minima is left to the operation of collective bargaining, we shall have a more flexible and practicable wage structure than if it is attempted to lift all labor at once to a level too far above that at which it now exists. And it must be remembered that a union which, in its wage bargaining, can count on the existence of certain basic minima, is in a better position than it is if no such minima exist.

The second question concerns the elasticity to be allowed for regional wage differentials in a given industry. This was an extremely contentious question under the NRA, and it is what is now agitating many Southern members of Congress, who fear that Southern manufacturers will be deprived of the privilege of paying lower wages than are paid for the same work in the North. We see no merit whatever in allowing such regional differences to exist, in cases where the product competes on a national market. There is no gain either to the workers or to the national economy as a whole in tempting industries to move about the country in search of lower wages. This is what produces derelict towns, aggravates unemployment, and increases social costs far out of proportion to any gain that might be registered in cheaper products of the drifting employer. There is, furthermore, no real advantage to the community in which the new factories are set up, if they are invited at the cost of creating an exploited industrial population. It was to prevent this very thing that federal legislation was added to the existing wage legislation of the states. State minima were ineffective in the case of industries producing for interstate commerce, because in many cases the raising of standards simply drove production elsewhere. We do not want to repeat the same process under a federal law. It is much better to have a uniform minimum, even though it be low, than to allow regional differentials in industries which compete across regional lines. A minimum may be raised as time goes on, but a differential, once officially set, is very difficult to get rid of.

Finally, the attempt has been made to tie tariff legislation to the wage laws, on the plea that the setting of high enough wages might invite foreign competition. This attempt has been defeated in the Senate, and we hope that it will not be renewed in the House. Many factors are involved in international competition, among which wages are frequently the least important. We ought to specialize in industries where we can maintain at once higher wages and lower costs than are possible to foreign competitors—and there are many such industries. To build employment which depends solely on tariff barriers is an extremely dangerous thing to do. Certainly it would provide an almost impossible task for the Board, whose duties will be complex and arduous enough in any case, if it has to alter import duties as well as administering wage standards.

Is It War in China?

ALREADY discussion has begun as to whether the President, by proclaiming the existence of a state of war between Japan and China, ought to call into operation the new neutrality legislation. The Japanese Premier has stated in public that the act is not likely to be applied. Senator Pittman, of the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee, has referred to public pressure in favor of invoking it, and has stated that the President must proceed with caution in view of the fact that the conflict may suddenly be settled. Commercial interests which might be affected are protesting against possible interference with their trade, while those who believe in the use of American diplomatic pressure to restrain aggression are arguing that we should not deprive ourselves of bargaining power by the self-denying ordinance of the new law.

It is not difficult to explain the hesitation of the Department of State or the President in applying an embargo on exports of arms, ammunition and implements of war, or forbidding the use of belligerent ships by American citizens, under present circumstances. The news from China is so confused and self-contradictory, and the intentions of the adversaries are so uncertain, that it is difficult to be sure whether the existing hostilities will be prolonged sufficiently to become a genuine war. In the meantime, we can be sure that diplomatic representations are being made which are aimed at preventing war or at least at localizing the conflict and bringing it quickly to an end. It is not desired, during these conversations, to make it too plain what limits may be set on intervention by the United States in case affairs take a more serious turn. Furthermore, both Secretary Hull and the President have always leaned toward the doctrine of "collective security"—international action to punish the aggressor—and for that reason have fought for the largest possible amount of presidential discretion whenever the bilateral measures of the neutrality legislation were under discussion.

We can see that it might be awkward to set the neutrality in motion and then, a week or two later, to be confronted by an agreement between Japan and China which would mean that no war would now occur. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out another fact of the utmost importance—that if there is to be a war, every day's delay will make it more difficult to put the embargoes into effect. Orders are doubtless being placed, even loans may be under negotiation. The trading interests that might be hurt are enlarging their stake in the conflict and preparing their propaganda. The movement against neutrality of the new kind is already gathering headway. Most important of all, there may any day occur an incident involving action by the Japanese navy to interrupt American shipments to China, and such action is certain to arouse a heated protest in this country. To apply the legisla-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion after such an incident might be made to look too much like a surrender. It would be much better to stop shipments of war materials before they are molested. On the whole, premature application of the legislation looks like much the lesser evil.

Of course wars are fought without being declared, and to wait for a declaration of war is therefore unrealistic. How shall we tell whether what is going on is really "a state of war"? Bear in mind that while the law gives the President discretion in deciding whether a state of war exists, it does not give him power to deny that war is war. He cannot stretch his discretion too far. There is no doubt that armies are now fighting each other in the Hopei-Chahar provinces. The situation will not be considered war only if the Chinese forces soon withdraw and let Japan have her way without forcible resistance. They may do this if they are not supported by Nanking. But if troops of the central government come into action, there can no longer be any doubt about what is in store. China will be fighting Japan. Whether short or long, the war cannot fail to be called war under any definition of the term or under the intention of the neutrality act. It will be the legal obligation of the President so to proclaim it.

In terms of good policy, it will be desirable to apply the law as soon as the Nanking forces become engaged. When this happens, all diplomatic maneuvering will surely have lost its usefulness; there will no longer be any hope of staying the hand of either combatant without a test of strength. Our national business will be to keep from being involved. That is the purpose of the law. It should therefore be promptly invoked and enforced.

Pennsylvania Points the Way

WHILE many states nowadays are talking about the desirability of a strong, forward-looking public-utility law, few of them have enacted such a measure. Among the exceptions is Pennsylvania, whose new statute, introduced as House Bill No. 851 (1937), went into effect on June 1.

Some important and interesting new principles and practices are embodied in this measure. One of the chief aims of the law is to limit each utility company's profit to a percentage, to be determined by the commission, of the "fair value" of the "used and useful" fixed assets of the company available for the service of the public. This percentage, however, must not be less than five percent. The Pennsylvania legislature and the Earle administration repudiate the idea that rate fixing in public utilities is necessarily an extremely complicated affair. They apparently agree with the theory that the complications for the most part have been deliberately introduced by the utilities in order to throw dust in the public's eyes. The Pennsylvania authorities have ordered that "simplicity and the full light of day" shall be the keynote of the administration of the new law, as they were in its drafting.

Under the new law, the old public-utility commission of seven members is abolished and replaced by a new commission of five. This group has full power to scrutinize and restrain every phase of the business activities of the companies that may unfavorably affect the rates consumers are to pay for services. The law puts the burden of proof on the companies. In the case of organizations supplying electric power, the commission is at last able to deal with those "net cents per kilowatt-hour" in which consumers are principally interested. Service charges and advance payments are taboo, with certain exceptions. Mrs. Citizen Jones may now buy kilowatt-hours of energy just as she buys eggs, at so many cents per unit, with no price penalty as to how or when she is to use them. Neither will the dimensions of the room in which the electricity is employed be a factor in the price as it has been, believe it or not, in some big-company rates in Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

Under the new law, there is an important break with the old principle that once rates are established, they continue in force for years, perhaps for decades. This statute authorizes the setting of temporary rates which may be reduced as often as monthly if the commission, through its constant scrutiny, finds the growth of net revenues to be in excess of the permitted percentage return. (This percentage is on the net fixed assets of the company "used and useful" in the service of the public, after allowances have been made for all legitimate operating expenses, for taxes and for depreciation reserve.)

The first practical application of the commission's new procedure came in an order issued on July 13. It indicated the routine presumably to be followed, a routine complicated-sounding but important. The procedure is applied if the commission, after reviewing all the evidence, decides that a given company at the end of any twelve-month period has made an excess profit. The commission will then compute a percentage (called "the Commission Adjustment Multiplier") which would reduce the total annual operating revenue sufficiently to eliminate the forbidden excess—if it had been applied to all outgoing consumers' bills during the twelve-month period, in all the rate classifications or schedules where the average of the total operating revenue, expressed in cents per kilowatt-hour, was greater than the average cents per kilowatt-hour for the total output of the company sold to all consumers. In other words, a company earning too much money is required to reduce all its bills which are at higher than average rates, by an amount sufficient to eliminate the excess.

These computations, of course, can be made in any month of the year for the preceding twelve months. Therefore, a new Commission Adjustment Multiplier can be computed and put into effect at any time in order to eliminate excess profits. In the July 13 order, mentioned above, this CAM was 70 percent. If Mrs. Consumer Jones had a bill of $10, subject to scaling down, the CAM of 70 per-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cent would appear on the bill and a net amount of $7 would be shown as the sum Mrs. Jones has to pay.

This is the new Pennsylvania sliding scale of rate regulation. If you have not heard of it before, rest assured that you will hear plenty about it in the future. It of course corrects itself progressively, getting nearer and nearer to complete accuracy as the information in the commission's files is built up. That consumers like it goes without saying. An important reason why the experts approve of it is because it accelerates the movement toward lower rates followed by greater use, followed by still lower rates, followed by still greater use. The experts believe wise investors in public-utility securities may see much greater safety in the new Pennsylvania plan than in the old system (still in force in most places) of charging consumers all that the traffic will bear and at the same time shamelessly mistreating the investors in these enterprises, for the sake of quick Wall Street profits.

In short, the ideas underlying the new Pennsylvania law seem to constitute a marked advance in the theory and practice of rate regulation. Two questions still remain: Will the Pennsylvania utilities have sufficient enlightened common sense to accept the plan and live under it honestly? And will the courts, with equally enlightened vision, uphold it in the legal tests that are certain to come?

Local Contributions to the Relief Burden

THE QUESTION of what share in the financial burden of relief should be borne by state and local governments failed to receive a congressional answer in the 1937 Emergency Relief Appropriations Act as it was finally passed. That, of course, does not mean that the problem is not still desperately in need of a solution or that it is not the immediate duty of Congress to supply one. The issue will certainly arise time and time again. At the moment, a makeshift answer is being supplied by a bargaining battle between the federal relief administrators (who ask as much from the states and local agencies as they dare) and the local administrators—who pay as little as they can get away with.

The defeated Byrnes amendment, which was accepted by the Senate Committee on Appropriations, required that the local agencies supply 40 percent of the cost of works projects, an amount that the local agencies in many parts of the country must have regarded as no more than an "asking price." Their idea of a "fair figure"—or at least the amount local agencies actually paid out in the first half of last year—was about 18 percent of the total. (This was an approximate average for all the states.) Some sections of the country, notably New England, carried a great deal more than their pro-rata share of relief expenses. Other states, such as New Jersey, Ohio, South Dakota, Wyoming, New York, North Carolina, Nevada, New Mexico, Louisiana, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Maryland and Florida, probably paid much less than they could have, because of the efficiency of their political lobbyists. There is, of course, no one percentage that could or should apply inflexibly to all the local agencies regardless of their capabilities, but even a superficial examination of the allocation of FERA and WPA funds among the states is sufficient to show that there has been no close correspondence between the funds provided by the states themselves and their abilities to pay.

One fine day we may come to the realization that England, when it comes to matters like this, can teach us a great deal. In developing a rational scheme for the distribution of relief funds to local governments Great Britain is at least a decade ahead of the United States. The Local Government Act of 1929, which was an outgrowth of suggestions made by Sidney Webb, allocates the "general exchequer contribution" to county boroughs and to counties according to a formula that includes both the relative needs of the areas and their abilities to meet these needs. Grants-in-aid for welfare and relief purposes are made in proportion to population, weighted by the amount of unemployment, the taxable value of property per capita, the density of population per mile of public roads and the proportion of the population under five years of age. Central-government payments also take into account needs other than relief costs; thereby a nice balance is achieved between automatic, arbitrary percentages and administrative discretion, which (certainly in the United States) is likely to be subject to political pressure.

At the present, there is no sign that any rational scheme like Great Britain's will be adopted by Congress for some time to come. In the meantime the responsibility will continue to be passed back and forth, neither the federal or local agencies will do their full share, and the eight million or more unemployed will continue, in most cases through no fault of their own, to suffer needless hardships.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1937, IN THE U. S., BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49TH STREET, NEW YORK.

EDITORS

BRUCE BLIVEN MALCOLM COWLEY R. M. LOVETT
GEORGE SOULE STARK YOUNG

ASSISTANT EDITORS

T. R. CARSKADON OTIS FERGUSON ELIZABETH HULING

TREASURER: DANIEL MEBANE

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

H. N. BRAILSFORD JOHN T. FLYNN WALDO FRANK
E. G. LINDEMAN W. P. MANGOLD JON. MITCHELL
LEWIS MUMFORD REXFORD G. TUGWELL

RATES: SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sailor Beware

IN RECREATING the Yankee merchant marine, Mr. Roosevelt and his particular protégé, Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, are attempting something that many observers think defies economic law, threatens international good relations, and is probably impossible anyhow. A subsidized merchant marine is a doubtful enterprise at any time, but Messrs. Roosevelt and Kennedy have chosen the worst conceivable moment in which to commence their program. They are proposing to build ships at the crest of a world armament boom, and thereby are making it virtually certain that their ships will be more expensive than any ever built in peacetime.

As head of the new National Maritime Commission, Mr. Kennedy has a job that makes other government chiefs in Washington shudder. The law under which he must act, the Maritime Act of 1936, is unrivaled for looseness in federal legislation. It sets up no intelligible standards or safeguards. Mr. Kennedy will shortly receive $160,000,000 from Congress, and perhaps another $240,000,000 in the next three years, or $400,000,000 in all. He must dish this out according to his own best judgment, and the one thing he can count on is an investigation by a future congressional committee.

The Maritime Act falls into two divisions. One half has to do with the operation of existing and future ships. It repeals the Jones-White Act of 1928, under which ship operators were given relatively large chunks of federal money in the form of mail contracts, and substitutes frank, unabashed subsidies. The second half of the Act concerns ship construction, and provides for the almost complete rebuilding of our present merchant marine.

Under the 1936 Act, the expiration date for the Jones-White contracts was set at June 30, 1937, and on that day Mr. Kennedy announced a tentative schedule of operating subsidies for the next six months. The announcement was made with a considerable beating of drums. Under the Jones-White contracts, Mr. Kennedy pointed out, the government would have been obligated to pay out $7,570,908, while the new direct subsidies were only $4,645,579.50. Thus at one stroke Mr. Kennedy had effected an apparent saving of nearly $3,000,000. On examination, however, this achievement becomes less awe-inspiring. What it shows is that Mr. Kennedy caught the small, weak companies by the heels, and stuffed them through his office wringer. It also shows, however, that the big, strong companies either fought him to a standstill, or else obtained about what they wanted. In the opinion of observers, these first subsidies are a measure of Mr. Kennedy's future troubles.

The five most important American ship companies are United Fruit, Matson, Grace, Dollar and the United States Lines. There are other large enterprises—the Lykes group of properties, for example—but the five biggest companies will make or break Mr. Kennedy's show. Of these United Fruit declined the subsidy offered it; Matson accepted for only one subsidiary. Supplementary negotiations with United Fruit and Matson are in progress as this is written, and are reported to be stormy. Grace and the United States Lines condescended to take subsidies that were only 16 percent less than their former mail payments under the Jones-White Act; this is in contrast to an average cut of more than 40 percent taken by smaller companies. Dollar presents a special case. Partly because of the reckless brutality with which it fought Pacific Coast labor, it is now in financial straits, and will not be eligible for a subsidy until it procures new capital.

According to the 1936 Act, operating subsidies are granted to enable American shipowners to compete against foreign rivals. Because of its present difficulties, Dollar may be omitted from discussion. Of the remaining four companies, United Fruit, Matson and Grace are monopolistic trading empires, rather than merely ship operators. United Fruit has the Caribbean; Grace has the west coast of South America; Matson has Hawaii, with a foothold in Australia, New Zealand and the Far East. They have no rivals worth the name within their respective territories. No one seriously pretends that, in order to stay in business, they need money from the federal Treasury.

There is only one reasonable ground, in my judgment, for subsidies to companies like these three. American seamen now have a substantially higher wage, according to work done, than that paid to seamen of other nationalities. Without some sort of subsidy, therefore, United Fruit, Matson and Grace might find it worth their while to transfer their fleets to foreign registry and sign on foreign crews. It is possible to make out a case, it seems to me, for the payment of subsidies based exclusively on the man-days of employment offered by these companies to American citizens. Such wage-bounties, however, would need to be only a fraction of the general operating subsidies envisaged by the 1936 Act.

Of the five big companies only the United States Lines occupies a genuinely competitive position. Its territory is the North Atlantic, where it must meet the rivalry of the principal shipping groups of the world. The United States Lines is part of the International Mercantile Marine, formed a generation ago by the elder J. P. Morgan with the hope of cornering the immigrant traffic from Europe. The chief interest in it now is reported to be that of Mr. Vincent Astor, one-time yachting host to the President; one of its officers is Mr. Kermit Roosevelt,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T. R.'s son. For the next six months, it will receive a subsidy of $750,000, together with estimated payments for the carriage of mail of $273,400. Payments of this size are probably needed to maintain the company on a profitable basis. It is the price we pay for the fun of watching Mr. Astor run ships across the Atlantic.

The ultimate cost of all operating subsidies, however, is estimated at only about $10,000,000 a year. This is small change beside the $160,000,000 in construction subsidies that Mr. Kennedy will soon have at his disposal. Building new ships, however, is what arouses both the President and Mr. Kennedy. In what was intended as a keynote speech before the Propeller Club in New York, May 22, Mr. Kennedy said: "For us an *adequate* merchant marine has to be a *new* merchant marine. The question comes—what are we going to do about it? The answer is *BUILD SHIPS!*—the best and most modern ships—and build them *RIGHT AWAY.*" (Mr. Kennedy's punctuation.) The speech caused fierce heartburning in London, where it was interpreted, quite erroneously, as meaning that Mr. Kennedy intended to build a fleet of "Queen Marys."

In a press conference soon afterwards, Mr. Kennedy announced that the American merchant marine needed to construct ninety-five ships within the next eighteen months to three years. Admiral Land, the Navy's construction expert and member of the Maritime Commission, standing beside him, observed that there were only sixty-seven active shipways in the country, and thirty-seven inactive ones. If Mr. Kennedy were actually to attempt to carry out his ninety-five-ship program, it would obviously create a sellers' market in which shipyards could ask about what they pleased. To date, however, Mr. Kennedy has been able to make tentative arrangements for only twenty-eight new vessels, and he may yet be saved from himself.

Under the 1936 Act, Mr. Kennedy has the right to grant subsidies of from 30 to 50 percent of the cost of new ships. This subsidy is supposed to represent the difference between American and foreign costs, but in the circumstances this formula is almost meaningless. Within the last two years, a European ship-building boom of vast proportions has started, and is moving at an accelerated pace. According to Lloyd's Register, in the three months ending June 30, 1937, tonnage in world shipyards jumped by 17 percent. With a shortage of shipyard space, and with a great advance in steel caused by European rearmament, European costs are spiraling skyward. American steel prices are also up, and under the benign influence of Mr. Kennedy's announcements American shipyard costs are almost certain to follow. A subsidized American ship program in the depths of the depression, in 1932-33, might have made economic sense, at least from a narrow business point of view. At present, Mr. Kennedy risks building ships with such a heavy capital investment that they would hardly pay their way if they carried nothing but bullion gold and cut diamonds. Within the last two weeks or so, Mr. Kennedy himself is understood to have shown sudden doubts, and to have undertaken privately to obtain realistic economic advice.

There is, however, a broader objection to the construction program than the current boom prices. This country can build the cheapest automobiles in the world, and the cheapest airplanes. It ought to be able to build cheap ships, without subsidies of any kind. According to experts, however, for many years American shipyards have depended primarily on orders from the United States Navy, and navy work is custom-order work, with expense no object. Except in the single case of oil tankers, which Americans can now turn out at a surprisingly low cost, mass-production techniques in ship building have never been adequately developed.

It is at least doubtful that Mr. Kennedy's subsidies can create a mass-production industry. In a sense, his subsidies are self-defeating. To develop a mass-production industry would require a relatively large investment in new plant, not only by the shipyards themselves, but by the steel and heavy-machinery companies that supply them. As long as they can look to the government for easy hand-outs, they have no motive for making an expensive reorganization of their production facilities. Experts also point to the lack of permanency inherent in all government-subsidy programs. A good part of the shipping industry, as it exists today, exists by no economic justification, but by fiat of Congress, and what Congress has given it can take away. Mr. Kennedy is known as an extremely persuasive man; perhaps he can bring about the mass production of shipping, but the odds are against it.

All this is to assume, however, that an American merchant marine and an American ship-building industry would be national assets. There are many competent authorities who do not think so. As has been said innumerable times, we are a creditor nation, and it is to our national disadvantage to do anything that makes it more difficult for foreigners to repay their debts to us in goods and services. Our merchant-marine program is in blatant conflict with Mr. Hull's international-trade policy, and it is generally suspected that State Department officials regard it with wonderment and disapproval.

In Mr. Kennedy's speech before the Propeller Club, he undertook the usual defense of the merchant-marine program as a form of national insurance in wartime. During the first part of the World War, he said, our foreign commerce suffered severely from extortionate ocean freight charges, and occasionally from inability to obtain cargo space at any price. This is all true, but it does not prove we would have been better off if we had possessed our own merchant fleet. War on a great scale creates a new, sudden demand for shipping, and under a capitalist economy this means that ocean freight rates everywhere are bound to rise. It is incredible that Ameri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can shipowners would keep down their rates out of pure love of their countrymen. It is equally unlikely that Mr. Kennedy would be able to force them to do so. In a war in which the world demand for shipping is substantially greater than the supply, our merchants will pay through the nose, whether we have ships flying the American flag or not.

Mr. Kennedy also argued that a merchant marine forms an essential part of our national defense, that in a war in which this country was a belligerent it would be needed to provide troop transports and supply ships. With all apologies, this is simply not so. In our legally protected coastwise fleet, particularly among the ships engaged in the transit of the Panama Canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, we now have a healthy, ocean-going merchant marine sufficient to transport more American troops to Europe or Asia than it is to be hoped will ever go there.

One last word is needed about the Maritime Commission. It is possessed of wide powers over maritime workers, and is likely to have the final word in determining whether American seamen will be able to organize under the CIO, or must remain under the corrupt, timid A.F. of L. bureaucrats. So far Mr. Kennedy has uttered threats against each side with great impartiality. The Maritime Commission's main function is to promote the interest of American shipowners; in the nature of the case it must tend to have employer sympathies. Probably its powers over marine workers ought to be placed in another agency in which the workers themselves would have proper representation. The remainder of its powers could probably be placed in a White House cupboard, while the country considers whether, with one-third of its population ill clad, ill nourished and ill housed, it wants the luxury of a non-paying ocean fleet. JONATHAN MITCHELL.

Soviet China

II: *The Long March*

HOW DID the Chinese Communists reach their present base in China and achieve their new position in the Northwest? Less than three years ago the Kuomintang armies were engaged in a great campaign against "Soviet Kiangsi," hundreds of miles to the southeast, and with the recovery of most of the areas formerly held by the Communists there, Nanking announced that the "menace of Red banditry" had been destroyed. How is it that today finds the main forces of the Red Army intrenched in Kansu, Shensi and Ninghsia, powerful enough to shake the foundations of the Kuomintang government with their demands for a Chinese "new deal"?

The beginnings of the Red Armies in South China trace from August, 1927, when the first great uprising of the Kuomintang troops occurred at Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi. This was led by Generals Chu Teh, Ho Lung and Yeh Ting. The first two are today famous Red commanders; Yeh Ting, who was married to the daughter of a wealthy retired merchant, now lives in exile in Hongkong. The Nanchang affair was quickly followed by uprisings at Swatow, Canton and elsewhere. In '27, also, began the great autumn-crop uprising in Hunan, led by Mao Tse-tung, and joined not only by thousands of armed peasants, but also by part of the Kuomintang garrison forces at Hankow.

For these insurrectionists, after the Nanking *coup d'état* in April, 1927, and the enforcement of the death sentence against Communists, there had begun a period of fight or perish, and they had chosen to fight. But they did not drop the name Kuomintang until 1928, when they put up their hammer-and-sickle banner and took the name "Workers' and Peasants' Red Army."

When the first Red government was formed in Kiangsi in 1930 it did not describe itself as a "socialist state," it must be noted, but as a "soviet republic—bourgeois-democratic in character." The term soviet, which in Russian only means "council," of course, denotes a representative government which may be utilized either in "bourgeois" or socialist society. It may be recalled that soviets were first used in Russia in 1905, and flourished throughout the "bourgeois" Kerensky period. It was in this sense that the Chinese Reds adopted the system, theoretically at least. They maintained they were defending the original principles of the "bourgeois-democratic revolution"—anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism—and the living meaning of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *San Min Chu I*—the three principles of "livelihood, democracy and nationalism."

I cannot here recount the fascinating and as yet fragmentarily written history of the six years of Communist rule in South China, but as background to the Long March a few words are necessary. From 1928 to 1930 the Reds made rapid progress, capturing county after county, organizing soviets and carrying out the agrarian revolution. They built up, from a nucleus of a few hundred ragged, half-starved but determined revolutionaries, an army of several tens of thousands of peasants. By 1930 they had become such a formidable force that Nanking, until then engaged with militaristic wars in the North, had to launch its first large-scale campaign against them. Since then it has been engaged in the process of "final extermination of the Red bandits."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first (1930), second (1931), third (1932) and fourth (1933) anti-Red campaigns were net failures. In each of them the Reds destroyed many brigades and whole divisions of Kuomintang troops. These campaigns in fact replenished their supplies of arms and ammunition, brought them new recruits and resulted in expansion of their territory. The Reds humorously called the "white" troops their "ammunition-carriers." While I was in the Soviet districts they showed me pictures of large amounts of captured Kuomintang flags, guns and munitions, which they had labeled "Gifts to Communist Youth." Mao Tse-tung told me that during the various campaigns in the south the Red Army captured and disarmed a total of over 300,000 government troops.

It was not until the fifth big campaign, and actually the seventh year of the Kuomintang's attacks on the Reds, that any notable success crowned the attempts to annihilate them. The Fifth Extermination Drive began early in 1934, shortly after the Second All-China Soviet Congress had been convened at Juichin, the Red capital in Kiangsi. This congress had been attended by representatives of the 9,000,000 people then said to be living under Soviet laws, and it was here that Mao Tse-tung was elected chairman of the Central Soviet Government. The Red government then had actual administrative control over the greater part of Kiangsi, and large areas of Fukien and Hunan. There were other Soviet districts, not physically connected with the Kiangsi territory, located in Honan, Hupeh, Anhui, Hunan, Szechuan and Shensi.

Against the Reds, in the Fifth Campaign, Chiang Kai-shek mobilized about 900,000 troops, of whom perhaps 400,000 actively took part in the offensive. He adopted new strategy to make the fullest use of his greatest assets—superior resources, technical equipment and mechanized warfare. Instead of an invasion of the Red districts, and an attempt to take them by storm of superior force, which had each time theretofore proved disastrous, he now used the majority of his troops to surround the "bandits" and to impose upon them a strict economic blockade.

It was a very costly campaign. Chiang Kai-shek built hundreds of miles of military roads and thousands of small fortifications, which were made connectable by machine-gun fire or artillery fire. His defensive-offensive strategy and tactics thus tended to limit the Reds, who depended largely on their superior mobility in maneuvering warfare—much like Lawrence in Arabia. Small numbers, lack of resources, made them less dangerous in positional warfare. In effect, in his famous Fifth Campaign, the Generalissimo built a kind of Great Wall around the Soviet districts, which gradually moved inward. Its ultimate aim was to encompass and crush the Red Army in a steel vise.

Chiang wisely avoided exposing any large body of troops beyond the fringes of his network of roads and fortifications. They advanced only when very well covered by heavy artillery, armored cars, tanks and heavy air bombardment, and rarely moved more than a few hundred yards ahead of the noose of forts, which stretched through the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kwangtung and Kwangsi. These tactics deprived the Reds of opportunities to decoy, ambush or outmaneuver their enemy in open battle. They were denied contacts except in fortified warfare, where the infinitely greater resources of the enemy gave them overwhelming advantages.

The Fifth Campaign is said to have been planned largely by Chiang Kai-shek's German advisers. For its success it was believed to be heavily indebted to the late General von Seekt, former Chief of Staff of the Nazi army, and for a while the Generalissimo's chief adviser.

Chiang's new tactics and strategy were thorough, but they were also very slow and expensive. The Fifth Campaign dragged on for months and still Nanking had not struck a decisive blow at the main forces of its enemy. The effect of the blockade, however, was seriously felt in the Red districts, and especially the lack of salt. The little Red base was becoming inadequate to repel the combined military and economic pressure being applied against it. The Reds deny it, but I suspect that considerable exploitation of the peasantry must have been necessary to maintain the astonishing eight-months' resistance which was put up during this campaign. At the same time, it must be remembered that their fighters were mostly enfranchised peasants and proud owners of newly acquired land. For land alone, most peasants in China will fight to the death. The Kiangsi people knew that return of the Kuomintang meant return of the landlords.

Nanking believed that its efforts at annihilation were about to succeed. The enemy was caged and could not escape. Tens of thousands of peasants had been killed, in the daily bombing and machine-gunning from the air, as well as by "purgations" in districts reoccupied by the Kuomintang. And the Red Army itself, according to Chou En-lai, suffered over 50,000 casualties in this one siege. Nevertheless, the Fifth Campaign proved inconclusive. It failed in its objective—the destruction of the Red Army.

A Red military conference was called at Juichin, and it was decided to withdraw, transferring the main Red strength to a new base. The plans for this great expedition, which was to last a whole year, were complete and efficient. They perhaps revealed a certain military genius that the Reds had not shown during their periods of offensive. For it is one thing to command a victorious advancing army and quite another to carry through to success a plan calling for retreat under such handicaps as those which lay ahead of the Reds in their now famous Long March to the Northwest.

The retreat from Kiangsi evidently was so swiftly and secretly managed that the main forces of the Red troops, estimated at about 90,000 men, had already been marching for several days before the enemy headquarters became aware of what was taking place. They had mobilized in southern Kiangsi,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

withdrawing most of their regular troops from the northern front, and replacing them with partisans, those movements occurring always at night. When practically the whole Red Army was concentrated near Juichin, the order was given in October, 1934, for the Long March.

For three nights the Reds pressed in two columns to the west and to the south. On the fourth they advanced, totally unexpected, almost simultaneously attacking the Hunan and Kwangtung lines of fortifications. They took these by assault, put their astonished enemy on the run, and never stopped until they had occupied the ribbon of blockading forts and entrenchments on the southern front. This gave them roads to the south and to the west, along which their vanguard began its sensational trek.

Besides the main strength of the army, thousands of Red peasants began this march—old and young, men, women, children, communists and non-communists. The arsenal was stripped, all the factories were dismantled, all machinery was loaded onto mules and donkeys—everything that was portable and of value went with this strange cavalcade. As the march lengthened out, much of this burden had to be discarded, and the Reds say today that thousands of rifles and machine guns, much machinery, much ammunition, even much silver, lies buried on their long trail from the south. Some day in the future, they say, Red peasants, now surrounded by policing troops, will dig it up again and reëstablish their soviets. They await only the signal—and the threatening war in the Northwest, or the war with Japan, may prove to be that beacon.

After the main forces of the Red Army evacuated Kiangsi, it was still many weeks before Nanking troops succeeded in occupying the chief Red cities. Thousands of peasant guards and partisans, held together and led by a few Red regulars, put up a stiff resistance to the end. The heroism of many of these Red leaders, who volunteered to stay behind for self-immolation, is memorialized in many ways by the Reds today. They provided the rear-guard action which enabled the main body to get well under way before Nanking could mobilize sufficient forces to surround and annihilate them on the march. Even now there are regions in Kiangsi, Fukien and Kweichow held by these fragments of the Red Army, and only recently the government announced the beginning of another anti-Red campaign for a "final clean-up" in the South.

Having broken through into Hunan, they began to march. Constantly pursued and harassed by enemy troops, bombed from the air, fighting an average of a skirmish a day, winning eighteen major battles en route, and outwitting or outmaneuvering their enemy at a dozen strategic points where failure would have meant destruction, the Red Army passed through Hunan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kueichou, Yunnan, Szechuan, Hsikong and a corner of Tibet, Chinghai and Kansu. At last, in October, 1935, the vanguard of the First Red Army reached North Shensi, where it connected with the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh and twenty-fifth Red Armies, which had established a Soviet region there in 1933.

This march, from its farthest point in Fukien Province, and with all its twists and turns, is said to have totaled nearly 25,000 *li,* or about 8,000 miles. The main forces claim to have covered a total of 20,000 *li* during the year, or about 7,000 miles. However one may feel about the Reds and what they represent politically, it is impossible to deny recognition of their Long March—the Ch'ang Cheng, as they call it—as one of the great exploits of military history. Hannibal's march over the Alps looks like a holiday excursion beside it. A more interesting comparison perhaps is Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, when the Grand Army was utterly broken and demoralized.

While the Red Army's march to the Northwest was unquestionably a strategic retreat, it can hardly be called a rout, for the Reds finally reached their objective with their nucleus still intact, and their morale and political will evidently as strong as ever. History has subsequently shown that they were right in emphasizing what was undoubtedly the second fundamental reason for their migration: an anti-Japanese advance to the strategic Northwest, a region which they correctly foresaw was to play a determining role in the immediate destinies of China, Japan and Soviet Russia.

This skillful leadership must be noted as a piece of brilliant political strategy. It was to a large extent responsible for the successful conclusion of the terrific march which took the Communists over some of the highest mountain passes in the world, across China's deepest rivers, over steppe and semi-desert, through the wild country of the aborigines and across the Great Grasslands of Tibet—where for five days there was no food or human habitation.

In one sense this mass migration was the biggest armed propaganda tour in history. Altogether the Reds passed through ten provinces, populated by more than 150,000,000 people. Between battles and skirmishes, in every town occupied, they called great mass meetings, gave theatrical performances, heavily "taxed" the rich, freed many slaves (some of whom joined the Red Army), preached "liberty, equality, democracy," confiscated the property of the "traitors" (*i.e.,* officials, big landlords and tax-collectors), and distributed their goods among the poor. They explained the aims of their revolution and their anti-Japanese policy. They armed thousands of peasants and left cadres behind to train the Red partisans who have kept Nanking's troops busy ever since. Many thousands dropped out on the long and heartbreaking march, but thousands of others—farmers, apprentices, slaves, deserters from the Kuomintang ranks, workers, all the disinherited—joined in and filled the ranks.

Peiping. EDGAR SNOW.

This is the second of a series of articles on Soviet China. The third will be published in an early issue. —THE EDITORS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Labor Front

I: Those Unauthorized Strikes

A STEADY tattoo of complaints against "unauthorized" strikes in General Motors plants was climaxed on July 27 by an official statement from Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the board. Reporting a decline of $22,377,272 in the corporation's quarterly earnings, Mr. Sloan blamed the strikes, denounced the "inability of union leadership to control their own followers" and suggested that some method of forcing unions to live up to their agreements should "be superimposed from without by the due process of law."

What are the facts? To get the background of these "unauthorized" strikes one must remember that for years General Motors and most of the automobile industry followed a harsh and determined anti-union policy. The companies fought unionization of their plants with every weapon at their disposal—intimidation, discrimination, company unions and stool pigeons. Foremen, superintendents and plant managers discharged with impunity any worker they suspected of union activities. In plants where workers did manage to get together some kind of organization and send a committee to the management, their demands were met with blunt refusal or equivocation and evasion.

Last winter this situation changed. Workers in General Motors plants formed an organization strong enough to force the corporation to deal with them. In March an agreement was signed that set up machinery for collective bargaining. Negotiations for a renewed agreement are now in progress, with the corporation demanding "assurances" before it will sign another contract.

In examining the alleged violations that have occurred under the original agreement, it should be pointed out first that the collective-bargaining machinery is inadequate, through no fault of the union. In negotiations the union demanded complete recognition of the shop-steward system—a system that works efficiently in several other plants—but it was forced by the company to compromise on a plan that provided a maximum of nine committeemen for each plant. This meant in one instance (the example is the Buick plant in Flint) that nine men had to handle the grievances of 16,000 workers. Later this provision was amended to one committeeman for every 400 workers, which is still far less adequate than the shop-steward system. After having been forced to agree to the principle of collective bargaining, the corporation either deliberately or from lack of foresight refuses to agree to a system that allows the machinery of collective bargaining to function smoothly.

The same supervisory personnel that was trained for years to fight unions is the first representative of the management in collective-bargaining procedure. Foremen who reported to the management workers' union activities, superintendents who during the strike helped to organize vigilantes and back-to-work movements, and plant managers accustomed either to refusing audience to union committees or to sidestepping issues when they meet them—these are the people to whom the union committeemen take their grievances first. Nor are they sub-executives influenced by past training alone. All of them no doubt have read Mr. Sloan's most recent statements, as well as previous letters to stockholders of which the following excerpt is typical:

> The implications to be drawn from the logical evolution of this movement [unionization] are serious economic and political consequences and jeopardize the security and welfare of all.

The workers then have been confronted with a piling up of grievances, due to the inadequacy of the bargaining machinery, and with an attitude on the part of the management representatives that violates the spirit if not the letter of the agreement that ended the epochal strike. The workers discovered that they had weapons that made it unnecessary to submit to injustice and suppression. Impatient with the corporation's reluctance to enter into collective bargaining in good faith, they have reacted with immediate and drastic action. The results have been the 200 strikes about which General Motors now complains and the press editorializes. The answer is this: When General Motors agrees to effective collective-bargaining machinery and when the corporation can discipline its managers, superintendents and foremen, the disciplinary problem of the union will cease to exist. FRANK WINN.

II: Lead Miners in Missouri

COVERING a twenty-five-mile radius where Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma converge is a white, slag-pitted area—the tri-state lead and zinc district. Here, one of the most vicious of the country's labor conflicts is being waged, affecting 6,000 workers. Living conditions are just as miserable as in the more publicized regions; scores are dying annually from silicosis, and ten striking miners are going to trial for first-degree murder because they defended their lives and property from company-union attackers.

For two years the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has been out on strike, asking recognition and better working conditions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A company-dominated blue-card union, known officially as the Tri-State Metal, Mine and Smelter Workers, was organized shortly after the strike started and the mines were reopened. Its executives are superintendents, or "ground bosses," and the president is a mine operator employing many workers. The international union formerly was affiliated with the A.F. of L. but withdrew to join the CIO.

The blue card has been proud of being an independent union and announced its intention to "keep the CIO out of the tri-state district." Soon after the Wagner Act was validated, the blue-card union became affiliated with the A.F. of L., an organization it had previously condemned.

Following an announcement by the CIO that it intended to hold a mass meeting at Picher on April 11, the blue-card leaders called a protest demonstration for the same day. The CIO was forced to abandon its meeting to prevent disorder. When the international members assembled they found their meeting ground surrounded by blue-card men armed with pick handles.

Most of the news stories that went out from the district were distorted. They depicted the blue-card men as peaceful workers who were attacked by the CIO radicals, the same men who called the "needless" strike of two years ago. The Joplin Globe is the district's largest paper and though it shows favoritism to the blue-card union, its account confirms the kind of terrorism that prevailed during the day. "Even before noon," says The Globe, "the [blue-card] men got out of hand. One group went to Hockerville, three miles north of Picher, and flogged Constable Ray Keller, whom they called a CIO sympathizer. They gave him 'ten minutes to get out of town.' . . . Then fights started with the pick handles as the blue-card men roamed the streets and occasionally encountered someone wearing a yellow CIO button."

Reid Robinson, international president, had sensed the tension in the district and sought additional police protection, but was told it wouldn't be needed. The Globe reporter noted that "throughout the Picher demonstration no county or city authorities were in evidence on the streets."

After destroying international halls at Treece, Kansas, and Picher, the blue-carders marched on the international hall at Galena. They precipitated a battle of clubs and firearms in which the small desperate group of defenders wounded ten men, one of them later dying of pneumonia. The sheriff expressed the opinion there was firing from both sides, and there is evidence that some of the blue-card group were armed.

In striking for better working conditions the international union hoped to effect some control of the silicosis that is present in the district. In Treece, Kansas, a town of hovels wedged between piles of chat (the slag from lead and zinc mining), 55 percent of the school children gave a positive reaction to a tuberculin test given last year by the Kansas State Board of Health. ALBERT G. PICKERELL.

Salaries and Wages: 1936

WE PRESENT below a table showing some salaries paid to corporation executives in the year 1936. We also give wages in the same industries.

As in the case of the similar tables that have appeared in The New Republic on two previous occasions, these figures are drawn from official sources in Washington. The figures for officials' salaries are taken from the records of the SEC. Those for wages in the same industries are from "Employment and Pay Rolls," compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor. The average weekly wage, given for December, 1936, is for the industry in which the major part of each company's business lies.

Name of Company	*Name of Officer*	*His Compensation for 1936*	*Average Wage in Industry Dec., 1936*
American Bank Note	A. L. Schomp	42,750	30.32
	D. E. Woodhull	36,675	
American Chain and Cable	Walter B. Lashar	60,350	27.96
	W. T. Morris	60,330	
American & Foreign Power	C. E. Calder	68,850	32.45
American News, New York Corp.	Harry Gould	50,000	28.87
	M. A. Morrissey	40,000	
American Power & Light	F. M. Kerr	27,600	32.45
	F. T. Post	36,000	
	H. L. Aller	40,220	
American Radiator	C. M. Woolley	80,000	26.85
	R. J. Hamilton	75,000	
	H. M. Reed	60,000	
American Smelting & Refining	F. H. Brownell	103,080	25.51
	H. A. Guess	78,080	
	Simon Guggenheim	50,000	
American Sugar Refining Co.	Earl D. Babst	77,200	20.15
	Joseph F. Abbott	60,200	
	R. S. Stubbs	35,440	
American Telephone & Telegraph	Walter S. Gifford	210,650	29.86
	C. P. Copper	85,900	
	B. Gherardi	68,750	
	C. M. Bracelen	68,750	
	Arthur W. Page	56,700	
	F. B. Jewett	55,000	
	E. F. Carter	45,833	
	E. S. Wilson	36,667	
	T. G. Miller	33,000	
	C. A. Heiss	41,250	
	J. F. Behan	27,500	
American Tobacco Co.	George W. Hill	246,173	15.86
	Paul M. Hahn	125,742	
	Charles F. Neiley	125,692	
Armstrong Cork	H. W. Prentiss Jr.	79,500	——
	H. M. Clark	42,400	
Atlantic Coast Line	Lyman Delano	49,000	——
	George B. Elliott	54,000	
	C. McD. Davis	44,000	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Name of Company	Name of Officer	His Compensation for 1936	Average Wage in Industry Dec., 1936
Atlantic Refining Co.	J. W. Van Dyke	100,000	30.95
	W. M. Irish	75,000	
	W. D. Anderson	40,000	
Atlas Powder Co.	Leland Lyon	39,812	28.96
Bendix Aviation	Vincent Bendix	75,273	28.25
	V. W. Kliesrath	34,456	
	W. L. McGrath	31,518	
Bigelow Sanford Carpet Mills	John A. Sweetzer	70,750	23.34
Borg-Warner Corp.	H. E. Blood	150,850	31.43
	C. S. Davis	125,925	
	G. W. Borg	102,300	
Bridgeport Brass Co.	Ralph E. Day	46,240	27.31
	H. W. Steinkraus	27,506	
Brooklyn Union Gas Co.	Clifford E. Paige	50,000	32.45
Byron Jackson Pump Co.	E. S. Dulin	44,000	29.73
	Frank Champion	29,339	
Caterpillar Tractor Co.	C. L. Best	50,000	26.46
	B. C. Heacock	50,000	
	O. L. Starr	40,000	
Century Ribbon Mills, Inc.	Herman Levy	55,180	16.42
	Irving Levy	39,730	
Certain-teed Products Corp.	W. G. Baumhogger	40,000	23.76
Checker Cab Manufacturing Co.	Morris Markin	44,799	32.22
Chesapeake & Ohio System	W. J. Harahan	60,000	——
	G. D. Brooke	42,000	
	H. Fitzpatrick	40,000	
	F. M. Whitaker	36,000	
	R. S. Marshall	31,600	
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	Ralph Budd	50,000	——
	Edward Flynn	31,175	
Chicago Mail Order Co.	E. M. Schnedig	50,961	28.37
	E. L. Schnedig	30,245	
	C. A. Bethge	27,245	
Clark Controller Co.	H. J. Fisher	56,197	26.86
Cleveland Electric & Illuminating Corp.	Eben G. Crawford	49,333	32.45
Columbia Gas & Electric	Philip G. Gossler	90,000	32.45
	Edward Reynolds	57,500	
	Walter C. Beckjord	60,000	
Commonwealth & Southern	Wendell L. Willkie	75,000	32.45
	Jacob Hekma	45,700	
	E. A. Yates	43,676	
Consolidated Cigar Corp.	J. Lichtenstein	67,500	15.86
	Louis Cahn	39,875	
Consolidated Edison of New York	Floyd L. Carlisle	86,599	32.45
	Oscar H. Fogg	52,280	
Consolidated Oil Corp.	H. F. Sinclair	200,660	31.31
	H. R. Gallagher	111,090	
	W. S. Fitzpatrick	103,120	
Continental Can Co.	C. C. Conway	74,119	21.88
	O. C. Huffman	74,077	
	S. J. Steele	35,890	
Crown Cork & Seal Co.	C. E. MacManus	50,475	——
	William Vinson	30,469	
	David G. Bloom	30,115	
Curtis Publishing Co.	G. H. Lorimer	80,460	37.33
	W. D. Fuller	60,480	
	P. S. Collins	61,180	
Cutler-Hammer, Inc.	F. R. Bacon	28,000	31.16
	H. F. Vogt	26,000	
	G. S. Crane	26,000	
Delaware & Hudson Co.	Lenore F. Loree	90,000	——
Detroit Edison Co.	Alex Dow	88,468	32.45
Diesel-Wemmer Gilbert Corp.	S. T. Gilbert	67,560	——
Eastman Kodak Co.	William G. Stuber	58,281	——
	Frank W. Lovejoy	108,473	
	T. J. Hargrave	58,433	
Electric Light & Power	J. H. Gill	40,565	32.45
Elgin National Watch Co.	T. Albert Potter	57,651	22.78
Erie Railroad	C. E. Denney	53,750	——
	R. E. Woodruff	25,500	
	D. L. Gray	25,500	
Fairbanks, Morse & Co.	R. H. Morse	112,162	22.08
	C. H. Morse	45,160	
	P. C. Brooks	46,786	
Fanny Farmer Candy Shops	Frank P. O'Connor	40,000	17.30
Fidelity & Deposit Co. of Maryland	Charles R. Miller	42,010	38.25
Flintkote	I. J. Harvey Jr.	48,347	——
	L. M. Simpson	25,000	
Florsheim Shoe Co.	M. S. Florsheim	43,312	18.23
	I. S. Florsheim	43,312	
	H. M. Florsheim	30,319	
	Samuel Goodman	43,312	
Gannett Co., Inc.	Frank E. Gannett	70,113	37.33
	Frank E. Tripp	37,384	
Gar Wood Industries, Inc.	Garfield A. Wood	50,000	29.73
General Cigar Co.	F. Hirschhorn	59,880	15.86
	William Best	29,940	
	B. G. Meyer	29,940	
	Milton H. Esberg	29,940	
	R. C. Bondy Jr.	29,940	
General Motors Corp.	Alfred P. Sloan Jr.	255,505	32.22
	W. S. Knudsen	254,325	
	Donaldson Brown	170,337	
	John L. Pratt	170,337	
	John T. Smith	170,337	
	Albert Bradley	166,967	
	Charles E. Wilson	166,967	
	Ormund E. Hunt	166,967	
	James D. Mooney	141,958	
	Alfred J. Fisher	141,947	
	E. F. Fisher	141,947	
	W. A. Fisher	141,947	
	Richard H. Grant	142,716	
	Marvin E. Coyle	99,992	
	J. T. Schumann Jr.	93,163	
Gillette Safety Razor Co.	S. C. Stamplemann	75,000	24.18
	E. H. Cooper	53,643	
	H. T. Claisse	44,703	
Globe Democrat Publishing Co.	E. Lansing Ray	27,082	37.33
Gotham Silk Hosiery Mills	S. E. Summerfield	35,000	16.42
Grand Union Co.	J. Spencer Weed	36,220	20.45
Great Northern Railway	W. P. Kenney	60,000	——
	F. J. Gavin	38,250	
Greyhound Corp.	C. E. Wickman	68,020	30.87
	O. S. Caesar	58,735	
	G. W. Traer	49,700	
Gulf States Steel Co.	W. H. Coverdale	27,310	31.59
Houdaille-Hershey Corp.	Claire L. Barnes	60,000	31.16
	Charles Getler	43,566	
	Ralph F. Peo	29,651	
Hershey Corp.	W. F. R. Murrie	91,550	17.30
	E. F. Hershey	25,000	
Homestake Mining Co.	Edward H. Clark	45,000	28.52
	Guy H. Bjorge	28,201	
Hoover Ball & Bearing Co.	C. W. Lighthall	30,527	24.18
Hudson Motor Car Co.	A. E. Barit	76,800	32.22
	S. G. Baits	45,000	
	R. D. Chapin	29,760	
International Harvester	S. C. MacAllister	83,105	26.46
	Morris F. Holahan	55,827	
	William F. Elliott	55,107	
Jewel Tea Co.	M. H. Karker	105,168	30.40
	F. M. Kasch	30,114	
Johns-Manville Corp.	Lewis H. Brown	136,910	——
	W. R. Seigle	126,180	
	Enders M. Voorhees	97,990	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Name of Company	Name of Officer	His Compensation for 1936	Average Wage in Industry Dec., 1936
Kaufmann Dept. Stores	Edgar J. Kaufmann	74,100	20.45
	O. M. Kaufmann	79,314	
	Irwin D. Wolf	40,159	
S. S. Kresge Co.	C. B. Van Busen	119,000	20.45
	C. V. Tuttle	119,000	
	R. R. Williams	119,000	
	S. S. Kresge	50,000	
Lambert Co.	John L. Johnston	85,833	22.93
	Robert L. Lund	42,333	
Lehn & Fink	Edward Plaut	90,220	22.93
	W. H. Gesell	45,220	
P. Lorillard	Benjamin L. Belt	50,000	15.86
	D. H. Ball	30,000	
	G. H. Hummel	30,000	
Los Angeles Gas & Electric	Addison B. Day	41,285	32.45
Ludlum Steel Co.	H. G. Batcheller	48,365	31.59
	E. B. Cleborne	32,254	
	F. W. Lounsberry	26,880	
McWilliams Dredging Co.	G. A. McWilliams	25,000	——
I. Mangin & Co.	E. J. Mangin	56,866	——
	G. A. Mangin	50,686	
	R. D. Carpenter	25,155	
The Maytag Co.	F. L. Maytag	35,000	26.86
	Walter Bones	30,999	
	E. H. Maytag	25,000	
Melville Shoe Corp.	Ward Melville	52,319	18.23
	W. J. Cobb	34,374	
Mid-Continent Petroleum	Jacob France	70,000	31.31
	J. C. Denton	40,500	
	F. B. Koontz	32,400	
Minneapolis, Moline Power Implement Co.	W. C. MacFarlane	30,120	26.46
Motor Products Corp.	A. L. Lott	29,421	32.22
	W. V. Helmel	26,683	
Motor Wheel Corp.	H. F. Harper	28,925	32.22
Mueller Brass Co.	Oscar B. Mueller	28,607	27.31
	Fred L. Riggin	37,660	
G. C. Murphy Co.	J. S. Mack	197,070	20.45
	W. C. Shaw	114,842	
	Edgar M. Mack	79,228	
Nash-Kelvinator Co.	E. H. McCarty	44,441	26.86
	C. H. Bliss	30,000	
National Biscuit Co.	R. E. Tomlinson	96,450	23.36
	F. Beers	48,500	
	C. S. Stilwell	48,000	
	E. Y. Crossmore	48,000	
National Oil Products Co.	Charles P. Gulick	31,962	30.95
	John H. Barton	28,942	
	Ralph Wechsler	28,902	
National Light & Power	P. B. Sawyer	54,600	32.45
National Tea Co.	G. Rasmussen	36,000	30.40
New York Steam Corp.	David C. Johnson	37,990	——
North American Rayon Corp.	S. R. Fuller Jr.	40,090	21.90
	B. D. Dunlop	25,151	
	A. L. Erlanger	29,917	
Oshkosh Overall Co.	E. W. Wyman	27,205	18.95
Otis Elevator Co.	J. H. Van Alystyne	64,367	26.86
	Arthur J. McComb	26,959	
Pacific Lighting Corp.	Robert W. Miller	36,900	32.45
Pan American Petroleum	Louis Blaustein	65,000	31.31
	Jacob Blaustein	55,000	
	Robert E. Wilson	45,000	
Park & Tilford, Inc.	Gordon Stewart	27,500	28.37
Peoples Drug Stores, Inc.	M. G. Gibbs	50,000	20.45
Philadelphia Electric Co.	W. H. Taylor	61,182	32.45
Pure Oil Co.	Henry M. Dawes	55,250	31.31
	R. W. McIlvaine	45,000	
	C. B. Watson	41,199	
Radio Corp. of America	David Sarnoff	75,920	21.67
	James G. Harbord	56,020	
Daniel Reeves, Inc.	Peter Reeves	31,380	20.45
Reynolds Metals Co.	R. S. Reynolds	90,686	27.31
	G. A. Robertshaw	42,288	
	J. A. Robertshaw	30,342	
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.	S. Clay Williams	60,000	15.86
	James A. Gray	50,000	
	T. H. Kirk	35,000	
St. Louis-Southwestern Ry. Co.	Daniel Upthegrove	30,000	——
Shell Union Oil Corp.	J. C. van Eck	71,500	31.31
	R. van der Woude	48,936	
	Alexander Fraser	60,000	
Skelly Oil Co.	W. G. Skelly	48,000	31.31
Southern California Edison	Harry J. Bauer	47,779	32.45
	Roy V. Reppy	25,200	
	W. C. Mullendore	25,200	
	Fred B. Lewis	25,200	
Southern Pacific	Hale Holden	60,000	——
	Paul Shoup	50,000	
	A. D. MacDonald	50,000	
Southern Railway	Fairfax Harrison	50,000	——
	E. E. Norris	30,000	
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co.	A. E. Staley Sr.	67,041	23.67
Standard Gas & Electric System	F. R. Phillips	50,609	32.45
	Thomas Fitzgerald	25,149	
	John J. O'Brien	39,844	
	Robert J. Graf	34,425	
	Bernard W. Lynch	38,617	
	M. A. Morrison	25,175	
	W. F. Raber	25,140	
Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey)	W. S. Farish	112,500	31.31
	W. C. Teagle	122,500	
	E. J. Sadler	95,000	
Sterling Products, Inc.	W. E. Weiss	92,381	22.93
	A. H. Diebold	92,431	
Stone & Webster, Inc.	G. O. Muhlfeld	50,000	——
	C. W. Kellogg	30,955	
	Samuel B. Tuell	31,240	
Studebaker Corp.	Harold S. Vance	50,000	32.22
	Paul G. Hoffman	50,000	
Sun Oil Co.	J. Howard Pew	74,750	31.31
	J. N. Pew, jr.	74,750	
	J. Edgar Pew	86,557	
James Talcott, Inc.	J. Frederick Talcott	35,160	28.37
Texas Corp.	W. S. S. Rodgers	95,000	31.31
	T. Rieber	93,333	
Trunz Pork Stores	Max Trunz	25,040	20.45
Twentieth Century Fox Film Corp.	Darryl F. Zanuck	260,000	——
	Roy del Ruth	238,333	
	Warner Baxter	284,384	
Union Electric Light & Power of Missouri	Louis H. Egan	62,834	32.45
Union Oil Co. of California	L. P. St. Clair	48,000	31.31
	R. D. Matthews	40,000	
Union Pacific	C. R. Gray	60,000	——
	W. A. Harriman	25,000	
United Aircraft	T. F. Hamilton	56,121	28.25
	Donald L. Brown	46,470	
	E. E. Wilson, sr.	33,600	
United Drug, Inc.	L. K. Liggett	75,000	20.45
	G. M. Gales	40,000	
	W. C. Watt	25,000	
United Fruit	Francis R. Hart	58,500	——
	William K. Jackson	30,900	
	Bradley W. Palmer	29,015	
United Gas Improvement Co.	J. E. Zimmermann	90,000	32.45
	F. B. Davis, jr.	227,000	
United States Rubber	W. deKrafft	121,400	31.56
	Herbert E. Smith	87,260	
	L. D. Tompkins	87,260	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Name of Company	Name of Officer	His Compensation for 1936	Average Wage in Industry Dec., 1936
U. S. Tobacco	John M. DeVoe	82,246	15.86
	J. W. Peterson	55,852	
	O. C. Hank	53,572	
Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co.	A. W. Robertson	108,588	26.86
	F. A. Merrick	84,485	
	Arthur E. Allen	52,816	
Wright Aeronautical Corp.	G. W. Vaughan	32,508	28.25
Youngstown Sheet & Tube	Frank Purnell	42,720	31.59
	W. E. Watson	40,000	

Escape

INSIDE the empty railroad station shreds of fog blown in by the wind turned yellow against the few dingy lights strung up underneath the high roof of the shed. As he waited, the man in the roadster at the edge of the station platform could hear from off in the distance the occasional whistle of a freight engine, which, dying down, left the night quiet as death again. He sat there waiting in the car and when he could sit no longer he got out and walked across to the bulletin board. The wind sliced in through the open shed and he turned up his coat-collar and began walking back and forth on the cold cement flooring. As he passed the ticket office the headlines on that afternoon's paper flared huge and black from their iron stand. He walked on trying not to see them but when he turned and came back again he could not keep his eyes from the huge tall letters forming the words SEARCH FOR AGITATORS ON in his mind, where there was no need for them again, where they already were. Sheriff's deputy fatally shot . . . search for agitators on. And then he kept seeing their own names spattered all across the paper for the last two days: Robert Clay . . . James Blanchard . . . Robert Clay . . . search for agitators on. And he kept thinking, *That arm of Clay's . . . a double-barreled shotgun . . . Jesus . . . two days and nights on the river-bottom with that arm. . . .*

Then at last the empty shed came alive as the night train slid in and dragged to a stop: but no one got off and then the bell began to clang slowly and then faster and he was suddenly afraid that Clay wasn't on the train at all when he saw him coming cautiously around the rear of the last car. He ran up to him seeing only the arm strapped tight in the sling under his coat and almost afraid to touch him. "You all right, Clay?" he asked, his voice shaking with his anxiety.

Clay nodded weakly and said in a weary, faint voice, "Let me rest on you and I think I can make it. . . . Got the car?"

"Over here," Blanchard said and they started slowly across the platform, keeping out of the light though they were alone in the station. "I didn't think you'd make it," he said. "The conductor got me through," Clay said, and he didn't ask him more. He could feel his weight resting on him as they walked and when they reached the car Clay eased himself into the seat groaning and then moved his head and looked hard into Blanchard's face. "They get you, Jim?" he asked and Blanchard shook his head No. "When I heard your voice on the phone I wasn't sure. . . . How'd you manage to get up here?"

"The back roads were still open two days ago," Blanchard said.

"They're not now. They got deputies stopping every car on every road between here and the river."

"That's what I heard."

"Where we going?" Clay said as Blanchard turned and drove along a paved street running through the town.

"It's all fixed," Blanchard said. "Doc got somebody's house . . . he ought to be there by now."

"Poor old Doc. He means well anyway. . . . How is he tonight?"

"He was a little scared but I think he's all right now."

"I don't blame him for bein' scared. But I hope he's not too scared when he sees this arm. . . . He'll probably say 'I told you so.' "

"He's all right," Blanchard said.

Blanchard drove slowly through the fog that had swallowed up even the street lights. "What time is it?" Clay asked.

"After eleven."

"Can't you go any faster? . . . I'm about crazy with this arm."

"It's not much more now," Blanchard said. A few blocks farther he turned into an alley behind some small one-story houses and they climbed out of the car. They went in at the back of one of the houses and Blanchard led the way slowly through a hallway to the front room where a tall, oldish man was standing in front of a fireplace with his hat and coat on. There was a fire burning in the grate, but the room seemed as clammy as the night outside. A floor lamp was on and the heavy silk shade dimmed the light.

"Hello, Doc," Clay said, trying to grin. The doctor said, "Hello, Bob," and he and Blanchard helped Clay into a chair. "Help me get his clothes off," he said to Blanchard in a tight, restrained voice. Blanchard was slow in moving, and the doctor burst out almost hysterically, "My God, move . . . move, can't you? We haven't any time. Maybe they'll trace me here . . . you know what they'll do if they find me here with you two. . . ."

"Take it easy, Doc," Clay said. "Even vigilantes aren't that dumb."

"What makes you think they're not?" the doctor said. "I told you you didn't know this county. You're not in San Francisco, remember. . . . Now give me a hand," he said to Blanchard. Between them they got Clay's coat off and when the doctor had cut away the bandage he stood looking down at the wound, holding the last strip of bloody rag in his hand and said finally, "Ah, Christ. Ah . . . what do you think I am?"

"What's the matter, Doc?" Clay said. "Is it infected?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Infected," the doctor said. "Infected. My God. Well. . . ." Blanchard watched him handling the hypodermic needle with sure, quick, dispassionate movements: then the needle went back into the doctor's bag and he straightened up and stared at Clay's crumpled body. "He's lost consciousness," he said flatly. "Loss of blood. Here . . . help me with him into the bedroom. I can't work in here."

The fog was still thick outside and Blanchard could see nothing from the window. *Watch the street,* the doctor had said. But he was chilled through and he finally moved a chair near the fireplace and threw more wood on the fire. Even then it didn't give much heat, and he stood up and began walking around the room. All at once he was conscious of the empty stillness of the house, and when a spark snapped in the grate he jumped nervously. *There's something wrong here,* he thought in a sort of dulled panic. *I don't like the looks of things . . . maybe we ought to get out of here.* Then he told himself again that they were safe there for a few days, but it didn't help. He lit a cigarette and stood listening by the bedroom door, but he couldn't hear any sound from the other side. The thought of Clay and his mangled arm jerked him into movement again and he was back at the window when he heard the bedroom door close with a soft click. He turned quickly and spoke to the doctor: "How is he?"

The doctor stood there looking through him vaguely. "No," he said at last, "I can't save that arm."

"You can't save . . . his arm . . ." Blanchard said dumbly. "But . . . then what can we do?"

"We can't do anything. The arm has to be amputated. You'll have to get him to a hospital."

"There isn't a hospital in a hundred miles of here that'll take him in. You know that."

"I can't help it," the doctor said, slumping into a chair. "And you'll have to get him out of here," he went on, his voice rising. "Can't you understand that . . . you'll have to take him somewhere else."

"What's the idea?" Blanchard said. "You told me we could stay here . . . besides, how could we move him the way he is? . . ." The harsh, bitter words trailed off as he noticed the doctor's frightened, set face, and he said gently, "That's all right, Doc. You can't always stick your neck out. . . . Ah, what the hell is the use, though?" he cried. "How can I get him out of the county? . . . Christ, they'll lynch him if they get their hands on him."

"I can't help it," the doctor said doggedly. "If he stays here they'll find him. They're suspicious of me as it is. . . . God . . . all this shooting," he said. "I'm afraid."

"We didn't shoot," Blanchard said in a quick burst of anger. "They shot their own men. I told you what happened."

"I can't help it," the doctor said again. "Try and think of something. I'll see if I can tie his arm up somehow. . . ."

Blanchard stood staring out at the gray bank of fog. The cold silent house seemed to close in behind him. He roused himself and went into the bedroom trying feverishly to think, but he knew there was nothing to do now but to try to get away somehow. He looked down at the bed: the doctor had Clay's shirt and coat back on him and was closing his instrument bag. As Blanchard watched him he felt exhausted and beaten: nothing he could do would be any use now. Suddenly the telephone bell in the hall shattered the quiet with one long peal; it stopped and in the ominous silence the doctor rushed out panic-stricken—Blanchard could hear him saying, "Yes, yes, yes," and then he was back in the room grabbing up the mess of dirty bandages and cotton and scraps of blood-soaked gauze and he ran out with them and threw them into the fireplace. "Christ, don't stand there like that," he screamed at Blanchard, his face distorted and livid. "That was my wife . . . they were over at my house looking for me. *For Christ's sake, help me pick him up.*"

They got Clay to the car at last and lifted him onto the seat. "Oh, God, if those bandages don't burn," the doctor cried. With the doctor on the runningboard Blanchard swung the car into the street. Above the crack of the exhaust they heard a shout and in the mirror Blanchard could see through the blur of fog at least a dozen men piling out of two cars in front of the house. "Turn here," the doctor yelled, and Blanchard yanked the car down a side street. He kept circling around in and out of back streets as the doctor told him which way to go. When at last he thought he had lost them he slowed down and the doctor jumped off and walked around to Blanchard's side of the car. "Keep in this direction," he said. Blanchard kept silent, then the doctor said, "I . . . I'm sorry for the way I talked back there. But you don't know these people like I do." He nodded toward Clay. "You'll have to drive slow with him," he said, and was gone.

Blanchard kept driving through the night with the deadweight of Clay lying against him so that Clay would not fall forward. The road had climbed slowly and the fog had begun to thin and lift a little and on either side he could see the dim outlines of sloping barren hills. After a time he stopped the car and listened for Clay's heartbeat, but he couldn't tell whether he was alive or not. He drove on hoping he was going north and when daylight came he thought they might have got through, but he couldn't seem to care.

The road was level and straight now and running through orchard land and Blanchard thought that finally he must be out of the county. As he passed a ranchhouse that looked familiar he knew for sure that the deputies had missed them somehow and that they were safe now, but with the weight of Clay's body against him he had no feeling of escape or freedom. He kept the car rolling steadily on mile after mile with the warm morning sun pushing its way through the fog at last and opening up the world to them, but he could only feel that it had been too long in coming. LEON DORAIS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

Salvaging Part of the New Deal Program—First Prize for Liberalism to O'Connell—Nebraska's Public-Utility System

UNDER constant bombing raids by the Senate reactionaries, the New Deal lines last week held with sufficient firmness to make the enactment of Senator Black's wages-and-hours bill seem reasonably assured. As these Notes are written, there also appears to be a chance of saving Senator Wagner's low-cost-housing bill. The remainder of the New Deal program, however, is in a desperate predicament. The administration's general farm bill is apparently dead with the gruff refusal of Senator Cotton Ed Smith to hold committee meetings until he consults with the "one-gallus" farmers, Cotton Ed's new name for the Southern cotton planters whom he faithfully represents. Senator Norris' program for regional TVA's is likewise hopelessly buried. Meantime the now undisguised alliance of Republicans and anti-Roosevelt Democrats is boldly maneuvering for adjournment, and it is unlikely that its pressure can be withstood longer than another week. In the Senate, especially, the nerve of the administration leadership has been broken by the Supreme Court fight; except for a handful of younger men—Minton, Schwellenbach and Smathers—there is no fight left in anyone. As soon as the new court-reform measure—designed, in Mr. Garner's words, "not to bloody Mr. Roosevelt's nose"—has been enacted, Congress will cut and run.

Last week in the House Labor Committee, supporters of the wages-and-hours bill beat off amendments providing that its five-man administrative board be split up among representatives of employers, labor and the public. Half the value of the bill will be lost, according to the men who helped draft it, unless a majority of the board, at least, are experienced economists. They point out that, as soon as the board is established, every industry that is not now paying a $16-a-week minimum wage is going to come before it with a great sheaf of statistical material, and demand an exemption. Simultaneously, the industry's spokesmen will threaten the board with an appeal to the courts if its demand is not granted. The board's job will be to dig into the industry, turn it inside out—look into past and present trade practices, methods of financing, actual and potential markets and a dozen other phases—and to emerge with a brief to support its eventual ruling as solid as Mr. Justice Brandeis' brief in the Oregon wage case. The wages-and-hours board can become an immensely useful, if minor, instrument for economic progress, but it will take five first-class men working nights and Sundays to make it so. The administration possesses some of the ablest economists in the country; supporters of the wages-and-hours bill hope that Mr. Roosevelt will resist whatever pressure is put on him to make political appointments to the new board, and will choose its members from the New Deal's own men.

With the present distressful session of Congress about to end, a vote on who among the new members of Congress has done most for liberalism probably should go to Mr. Jerry J. O'Connell of Montana, with Mr. John T. Bernard of Minnesota as runner-up. Plump, baldish, with blue, Irish eyes, O'Connell is just twenty-eight, the youngest member of Congress. During the session, he organized and led a delegation to the White House to ask that Mr. Roosevelt lay an embargo on munitions shipments to Germany and Italy, as states at war with the rightful Spanish government. He proposed that Congress memorialize the Governor of California to free Tom Mooney. Congress has never memorialized a governor in all its history, but why shouldn't it, O'Connell argued; state legislatures are always memorializing us. He is author of a bill to establish a TVA at Fort Peck dam, Montana, and a bill to prevent industrial silicosis. Most important, he is rapidly becoming the best known Montana Democrat after Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and if Mr. Wheeler's hide is to be got in 1940, when his term ends, Mr. O'Connell will have a hand—probably the chief hand—in getting it.

There is a story behind the political relationship of Messrs. Wheeler and O'Connell. In 1914, when O'Connell was five, going on six, there was a strike in the Anaconda mine at Butte, where his father worked. Butte then had a Socialist mayor, Lewis B. Duncan, and a sheriff friendly to the miners, Tim Driscoll. To break the strike, the Anaconda needed to remove these two officials; it tried seventeen Montana judges in succession until it found one ready to carry out its will. The judge's name was Roy E. Ayres. The mayor and sheriff were thrown out of office, the strike broken, and in the breaking of it Jerry O'Connell's father, one of the strikers, was shot and badly wounded. The elder O'Connell suffered from silicosis—which is why, last winter, Jerry introduced his bill. Partly from that, and partly from his wound, the father died, leaving Jerry, his mother and Jerry's five small sisters, all younger than himself, to fend for themselves.

In one way or another, Jerry, doing odd jobs and working in the mines, got an education, was elected to the state legislature at twenty-one, and to the Public Service Commission at twenty-four. In the latter election, he drove 43,000 miles, speaking at every crossroads against the Anaconda and its public-utility allies. A year ago, he and his group backed a liberal editor, Miles Romney, for the Democratic nomination for Governor. Arriving from the East, Senator Wheeler chose as his candidate Mr. Ayres, the man who twenty years earlier had contributed to the breaking of the Butte strike. Ayres won the nomination and the governorship, but the miners of Butte, who now belong to the CIO, refused to vote for him, and Butte itself went Republican, an almost unheard-of upset in Montana politics. Ayres's term, like Mr. Wheeler's, expires in 1940. Until then, Montana New Dealers are biding their time.

According to report, a strictly business deal is in progress that will end, if all goes well, by making Senator Norris' Nebraska the first state with a wholly publicly owned utility system. Under the New Deal, the PWA has had three power projects in Nebraska—the Tri-County project backed by Mr. Norris, and the Sutherland and Loup projects backed by groups hostile to him. There has been disharmony among the three projects, and the Tri-County has been hampered by an injunction suit brought against it by private utilities. Into this situation, a short time ago,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stepped Mr. J. D. Ross, for twenty years manager of Seattle's municipally owned utility system, and now a commissioner of the SEC. Mr. Ross proposed the buying out of all private utilities in Nebraska and the lining up of the three PWA projects, thus permitting at one stroke the fulfilment of Senator Norris' goal of a statewide Nebraska grid. Incidentally, it means the end of the injunction suit against the Tri-County.

Mr. Ross is close to being the Paul Bunyan of public power. Early in the New Deal, he appeared at the doors of the PWA, asking for $22,000,000 for his Skagit development in the state of Washington. When PWA officials did not look properly impressed by the opportunity's being offered them, he vanished in the direction of New York, to return triumphantly with $22,000,000 in private money he had obtained from a man nearly as remarkable as Mr. Ross himself—Mr. Guy C. Myers, a Wall Street banker with a belief in the profitability of public ownership. Later, through Mr. Ross's intervention, Mr. Myers dug up $48,000,000 for the Los Angeles municipal utility system. If Mr. Ross can now arrange terms satisfactory to both sides, it is reported that Mr. Myers will find in the neighborhood of $100,000,000 for Nebraska. Mr. Myers shuns Washington, and is hardly known by leading New Dealers. He is said not to regard his financing of public power as anything worthy of comment, just a matter of good business.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Open Season for Optimists—The Building Industry Cannot Support Recovery—No Fresh Financing—Postponing the Collapse

IN ANOTHER month the business analysts will be writing about the opening business season and putting a hopeful and promising finger on every lively and rosy sign in the skies. Such signs as are about are quite significant.

The significant signs, so far as I am concerned, are those which have a bearing upon the flow of new funds into the business stream. And of course the building industry is the most important of these. It is the most important because construction is carried on with long-term credit, which means heavy infusion of fresh funds into business.

If you look at any chart of construction you will see that building operations as expressed in contracts—as reported by F. W. Dodge Corporation—have risen rather sharply over last year. This might be set down as a very favorable sign. But it is subject to two modifications. First, public construction still makes up a very large part of the total. For instance, in June there were $320,000,000 in contracts awarded. But $140,000,000 of these contracts were made by public bodies—chiefly the federal government. The other modification is that while private building contracts have shown a marked rise compared with last year, the total is not yet really impressive. It is still far less than one-half the volume in the really active days of the construction industry. In other words, while building has increased it has not developed into anything like the proportions that optimists expected. And it is by no means able to support a business recovery. For instance, private building in 1936 and 1937 is far below the levels it reached in 1922 and 1923, when building construction led the country out of the post-war depression. Indeed, private building in these years has been less than half what it was in 1922 and 1923 and it is far lower than it was at the low point —1921—of the post-war slump. Maybe it will improve, but there are as yet no signs of any important improvements. The apex of the year's operations has already been passed.

Far more favorable is the record of bank loans and bank deposits which result from them. Bank deposits on the chart show a tendency to decline. The peak seems to have been reached around March, and since then the drift has been lower. But, on the other hand, this has been due largely to the liquidation of United States bond and note holdings, which is a good thing. The deposits total now is resting upon a column of private credit much higher and a volume of public credit somewhat lower. Loans by banks are around a billion dollars more than they were a year ago and government holdings are more than a billion less.

On the other hand the record of private investment as reflected in new security financing is appalling. A glance at a chart on financing reveals a tremendous rise from 1935 on. The lines run up like precipitous mountain peaks. But if you examine the contents of these peaks you perceive that it is almost all refinancing or financing in no way connected with bringing fresh funds into the market. Take a month like December, 1936. Security issues that month registered with the SEC amounted to $700,000,000. But of these only one-fifth represented proposed new financing and it is certain much of this was never really translated into actual money. This year financing has fallen below last year. And in Wall Street one hears rumors that the bottom seems to be falling out of this business.

The sum total of all this is that new funds flowing into business are still quite low and that were it not for government borrowings and spendings the present business activity would crash down like a deflated balloon.

From all of the foregoing we need not conclude that a collapse is at hand. The situation is no worse than it has been for several years. In fact it is somewhat better. And, added to this, is the fact that there is floating around the business world billions of dollars of still active sums which have been pumped into the stream of business by government borrowing over the last five years. The conclusion to be drawn is that private business has not yet developed its own motor power. What is more, there is no evidence that this is developing on a scale sufficient to activate recovery. We must conclude therefore that, while the activity supplied by government credit can and probably will keep the thing afloat for another year or two—perhaps—unless some energy develops in private industry, the collapse cannot be delayed much beyond that period. Furthermore the recovery is sufficiently thin to be seriously affected by the rising tide of prices.

In any event that rosy story of the coming of the greatest boom in history which some Wall Streeters thought they saw last March has turned out to be a bit thin. Maybe it will get under way yet, but it really seems farther off now than it did in March. JOHN T. FLYNN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bandwagon

Although budget figures are not made public, it is estimated that Germany's total debt has more than doubled in four years. It is reported that an English banker said recently to Dr. Schacht that a British government which did not make its budget public would be driven out.

"It is precisely the splendid thing about National Socialism," answered Schacht, "that it is forbidden to distrust the government."—*From an article by S. Miles Bouton in The Washington Post.*

The American worker is independent, but the American industrialist is a slave.—*Jan Bata, Czechoslovakian shoe manufacturer visiting the United States, as interviewed by The Portland, Ore., News-Telegram.*

Rather than extending the working-age limit two years, we should have a strict law forcing boys and girls into gainful employment at sixteen years of age and if the government is so deeply interested in their welfare it might be well to spend of the billions now wasted in politics toward pay and care for the youth of sixteen and make it unpleasant for them if they do not go to work—*From an item in The Boston Traveler.*

I am enjoying my work as an instructor at the summer school on the history of human origins. That embraces the first eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis.—*Rev. William J. McGarry, S.J., recently appointed president of Boston College, quoted in The Boston Globe.*

Those Overtime Blues

Today is Aviation Sunday—so called because workmen and employees in private firms and banks have agreed to work from eight until two o'clock, devoting the wages thus earned to aviation. The government has shown appreciation for this patriotic act by ordering military bands to play.—*The Morning Post, London.*

Up-the-Rebels Department

Arrival of $14,000 worth of smart Parisian gowns today spurred Miss Ethel duPont's preparations for her wedding to Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., June 30.—*International News Service dispatch from Greenville, Del.*

Needle workers—75,000 of them—will not take up their needles tomorrow. The industry will be shut down as a result of the employers' decision not to take chances with the old minimum-wage law of $1 daily, held enforceable as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision.—*Associated Press dispatch from San Juan, Puerto Rico.*

Oh, We Thought You Said Sell

"Remember, gentlemen, the purpose of all advertising is not to sell Philco radios, it is merely to help your salesmen to sell—to pave the way—to make it easy to build up acceptance for Philco. Advertising, of itself, does not sell Philco radios—but it does make it easier for salesmen to put across their selling story with a minimum of resistance in the shortest possible time. So, plan your advertising with this point in view—that your advertising is to help your salesmen sell!"—*From a speech by the Philco Radio and Television Corporation's Mr. Schaffer, reprinted and circulated by their Department of Public Information.*

When Knighthood Was in Power

It was Officer O'Higgins who told of a man with a meat hook who had threatened him, of a man in the crowd who had a sawed-off shotgun and fired it, and of a woman who dropped a bag of pepper. He said he did not strike the woman, but "like a gentleman, I shoved her."—*An article dealing with the South Chicago riot on Memorial Day, in The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—The Editors.

Street, Los Angeles

Noon

Sat on a telephone pole talking to his girl,
Member of the number seven crew,
Addressed his wit at trees he looked into.

That's another, said to his girl,
Loud, so apartment windows high as he
Took eyes and looked to see.

That's what they all say, said to his girl,
Ignoring morning as it stood below him
And was too short to know him.

Nothing nothing suddenly said to his girl.
The world and windows listening heard instead
The noon whistles breaking over him, what they said.

Evening

Some of the roofs are of Hopi Indian decision,
They cut square into the sky with plaster,
The tan edge going up two stories past the windows
And turning north and east for straight cement horizon.

Some have old noble English temper peaked,
Alternate red and green shingles but getting the drift,
Gabled to peer out of a possible anciently fallen snow,
And clear superior against gray sky.

All of them look west and take in sunset,
Keep their ferns warm the length of supper,
Sparkle their cups of milk and all accompany
With aerial music the evening sun go down.

Night

What they had at their window was earth's own shadow,
What they had on their garden, bloom's intermission,
Slept in the car the graceful far.

Slept in the breast a city and statewide rest,
Ran at the wrist time strapped and glassed,
They had eyes closed tight in a central standard night.

Josephine Miles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Appraising Paul Elmer More

SIR: Mr. Wilson and, more particularly, Mr. Young writing on Paul Elmer More in The New Republic [May 26, June 9 and July 21] seem to me unhappily confused between their personal impressions of him, gained at a few casual meetings, and their undoubtedly honest feeling that, as a critic, his approach to life and to literature was too abstract. Mr. Greene has given testimony [The New Republic, July 7] which I would like, if I may, to corroborate, that these gentlemen write superficially of More's personality. In rejoinder to Mr. Greene, Mr. Young emphasizes his interest in More, not merely as a person, but as the exemplification of an attitude toward art. Yet he bases his whole characterization of More as critic only upon certain personal impressions received in youth, when he once heard More converse. Is this not, clearly, too personal and too narrow a foundation for the responsible appraisal of any writer?

Princeton, N. J. A. E. HINDS.

The Movies and the Masses

SIR: God knows I hate the movies as much as Edmund Wilson does.... Yet I cannot restrain myself from protesting against Mr. Wilson's alleged review of Alva Johnston's book, "The Great Goldwyn," in your July 21 issue. Not that I care a damn about the book—I haven't read it. As a reader who occasionally expects to get some information about a book from book reviews, I do, however, object to a man starting out to review a book and then suddenly launching into an essay on a subject about which he obviously knows nothing and continuing to prove this for a couple of pages while forgetting the book entirely....

Mr. Wilson says that the Marx Brothers, who used to tickle his fancy, are just plain horrible in their picture, "A Day at the Races," and he blames this on the fact that they took their gags around the country on a stage appearance to try them out before making the recent film. Mr. Wilson implies that the Goldwyns or some of the other Hollywood princes did this as a part of their plot to make very bad but very salable pictures. Now it seems to me that an old movie expert like Mr. Wilson admits he is should know by this time that the Marx Brothers have been using this method of trying out their gags for the past several pictures—even back in the days when he liked them—and that it is entirely their own idea, not Hollywood's....

New York City. EARL WILSON.

SIR:.... The burden of Mr. Wilson's ostensible review of Alva Johnston's book is that pictures make very bastards out of anyone who accepts their ugly gold. Wilson puts it much nicer than that, but it tallies. I also see that Wilson implicitly suggests that the author of "The Great Goldwyn" should have consulted Mr. Wilson before writing it in order to discover the precise slant he should have given to it. For all his vulgarity, and the cheap insolence which success has imbued the picture impresario with, Alva Johnston persists in *liking* him, and this subtle paradox unleashes Edmund Wilson's spleen.

Your Mr. Ferguson could tell Wilson that Goldwyn really does make the best, tastiest, the very nicest pictures that come out of Hollywood—pictures with a sense of dramatic values, literate, almost invariably mature: which is a lot to say for movies at any time. This, with astonishing consistency, from the vulgarest of Hollywood's ignoramuses, the funny little clown, Sam Goldwyn!...

If Mr. Wilson ever becomes conscience-stricken over using a book merely for the purpose of getting a load off his chest on the subject . . . I can tell him something about Hollywood which he does not seem to know.... It is that Hollywood does not make moving pictures to suit the taste of Mr. Wilson. I suppose that doesn't sound very startling or original at first glance. But it's terribly true. It's what keeps Wilson and you and me and George Jean Nathan away from movies. And Hollywood doesn't care. That's the lowest blow of all! Hollywood doesn't care whether Edmund Wilson goes to movies or not.... Because if Hollywood made pictures exclusively to the taste of Mr. Wilson or Mr. George Jean Nathan, Mr. Zanuck or Mr. Mayer would have a hell of a time making the millions they do....

Woodhaven, N. Y. LOUIS PAUL.

SIR: I didn't laugh very much at Edmund Wilson's piece about the Great Goldwyn book, but it did make me rather sick, with the involuntary nausea that sometimes overcomes us at the spectacle of a fellow mortal retching and puking in public. Dwellers in ivory towers, when they stick their heads out and get a whiff of the world outside, often provide such a spectacle.

It is hard at first to see why that little book was worth Mr. Wilson's distinguished attention, it is so obviously just something for the amusement of the masses, and almost as obviously—in effect if not in intention—an amiable bit of press-agentry. But as Mr. Wilson's rumbles increase it becomes plain that the book is only being used as a means—like a finger thrust down the throat—to obtain relief for an acute distress about American movies. ...Not that he is really interested in movies as movies, or knows much about them: his lack of interest and knowledge being apparent from the names he tosses about as significant in American films. Nor does he know what Sam Goldwyn has contributed, maybe even to the Russians and Germans....

The thing that makes Mr. W.'s dicta most disturbing, coming from a presumable liberal, is the affinity therein to the moans of all the other busybodies who ignore the several million people (statistics are available) who go repeatedly to the movies, under no legal compulsion, paying their way and enjoying themselves. "They shouldn't!" the distressed ones shriek. "Let them eat our kind of cake—and like it!"...The esoteric and the proletarian never have coincided. But the point is, doesn't liberalism include any kind of freedom except economic—freedom of taste, for instance?...

New York City. J. S. HAMILTON.

Trotsky and the Kirov Assassination

SIR: Walter Duranty ["The Riddle of Russia," The New Republic, July 14] considers a necessary part of his thesis on behalf of the Moscow firing squad the following statements: After a period of Open Controversy (1923-28), "there followed the phase of Reconciliation, from the latter part of 1928 to 1934, during which Trotsky's supporters in Russia recanted. . . . Trotsky found harborage on the Isle of Prinkipo . . . where he appears to have confined himself to the preparation of a new campaign against his opponents on Soviet soil by the formation of the so-called Fourth International and by writing in order to raise funds. . . . By the end of 1932 . . . he had laid the foundation for a renewed attack on the Kremlin. . . . At the end of November, 1934, Kirov, one of Stalin's closest henchmen, was assassinated."

Trotsky while at Prinkipo did *not* confine himself to "preparation" of a new campaign, etc., and to writing "in order to obtain funds." The fact is that Trotsky continued his campaign against Stalin throughout that period, and added to it a relentless campaign against those of his former supporters and allies who had recanted. This struggle was carried on chiefly by means of published articles for which he received no pay, since they were written for and published in the Russian Bulletin of the Left Opposition and other Trotskyite papers.

Between December 15, 1928, and April 28, 1934, for example, there appeared in The Militant, American Trotskyite organ, not less than seventy articles by Trotsky against the policies of Stalin and those who had capitulated to him. During the same period Trotsky produced half a dozen books and pamphlets on related topics

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Kirov assassination, then, cannot be synchronized with a "revival" of Trotskyite agitation in Russia. Trotsky's polemics against Stalin had never let up and hence could not be "revived"; all the evidence, moreover, tends to prove that the assassination of Kirov had its roots in Russia itself, with the GPU not entirely innocent.

HERBERT SOLOW.

New York City.

From a Scottsboro Defendant

SIR: I am quite sure you all have read the outcome of my trial, and seen that I was given a miscarriage of justice. I feel it is my duty to write you all the facts of my case, which you perhaps overlooked or perhaps it was not published in the papers. I was framed, cheated, and robbed of my freedom. First, beginning March 25, 26 and 27, 1931, I wasn't charged with criminal assault on either girl, and was carried through the first, second and third degree, and even on the basis I would gain my freedom by turning state evidence against the other eight boys. Just because I didn't know nothing nor neither would I lie on the other eight boys the charge of rape was framed and placed against me the twenty-eighth day of March, 1931.

I was tried, convicted and given the death sentence and in November, 1932, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the sentence and a retrial ordered. The nineteenth day of July, 1937, I was retried and sentenced to ninety-nine years' imprisonment.

Now I wish to call your attention to how the judge charged the jury. He charged them in a perjury way. Out of his one hour and twenty-five minutes' summation he only mentioned acquittal three times and each time he contradicted it by saying if you juries find a doubt which goes to me, reconsider it. Never did he mention a single defense witness in his hour and twenty-five minutes' summation to the jury.

How can I receive justice in the state of Alabama, especially in Morgan County, when perjury is used against me and my attorneys too. And I beg you dear friends, readers, all stick together and work and struggle together and see that justice is brought to light. Let us all pull and struggle together and see that justice be done. It is not that I hate to go to prison, but I am innocent and the slander is being thrown on our race of people and my family, is my reason of wanting to fight harder than ever.

Kilby Prison, Montgomery, Ala. ANDY WRIGHT.

[Andy Wright, author of the foregoing letter, is one of the Scottsboro defendants. He was sentenced to ninety-nine years' imprisonment in the recent trial at Decatur, Alabama. His letter was written on the day that the four other defendants were set free, although the evidence against all nine was exactly the same. The Scottsboro Defense Committee is continuing its fight in this case in the hope of obtaining the release of the other five victims.—THE EDITORS.]

The Russian Flyers

SIR: Looking through the editorial notes of the July 21 issue of The New Republic, I was surprised to find you placing, by implication at least, Soviet Ace Gromov and his two companions on his record-breaking dash, in the same stunt class as the unfortunate Amelia Earhart.

You wonder why the Soviet Union does not use Pan-American Clipper-type ships for its long-distance flights. You suggest that there might be something wrong in Moscow. Reason, of course, is both simple and valid: ships such as the Clipper require four motors; as they require more horsepower per mile-an-hour, more energy per pound of weight of ship, consequently they have too high a fuel consumption to permit long-distance flights over 2,500 miles. A small single-engined monoplane must still be used on flights of this kind. Any airline worker will tell you, for instance, that multi-motored transports have small ranges—sufficient unto the purpose, but not sufficient unto long-distance flights.

In other words, Clipper ships over the North Pole route will not be practicable until at least two intermediate bases are available. One such, Rudolf Island, is there. But the other, necessarily in northern Canada, is up to the Dominion government. It is the USSR's announced intention of using such ships once the bases exist. One might query, why fly over the North Pole? Well, it's 600 miles shorter.

New York City. JOSEPH BUTLER.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Clarence Armstrong, of Warners, New York, disagrees with the contention of John T. Flynn in our issue of July 28 that liberals cannot expect anything to come out of the New Deal that is in line with what they really want. Mr. Armstrong applauds the administration's labor policy and says that in giving encouragement to progressive groups of all kinds Mr. Roosevelt may be "paving the way for greater things to come."

Anna Miller of New York City says that President Roosevelt's recent statement about unionizing government employees need not interfere with the organization drive of the CIO in that field because the union at the outset laid down a no-strike, no-picketing policy and understands the limitations of collective bargaining in this special instance. . . . Irving Oblas, of New York City, objects to our editorial recommendation of American neutrality in any struggle between China and Japan. He calls this a "dangerous policy of passivity," and says, "Our assistance is needed in beating out the flames of war before they spread very far. Tolerance for, and fear of, aggressive states only encourages them further."

Mrs. E. E. Luther, 3611 Linden Avenue, Seattle, Washington, writes in her capacity as secretary of the Marion A. Zioncheck Memorial Association to ask our readers for suggestions for suitable books to be placed in the public library as a memorial to the late Congressman Zioncheck. . . . The Social Work Publicity Council, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York City, calls our attention to its new booklet, "Practical Methods for Identifying Public Opinion," by Professor Harwood L. Childs, of Princeton, which gives suggestions to social workers on how to collect and interpret data dealing with group attitudes.

Lewis A. Riley of Long Beach, California, says that J. A. Hobson's "Will America Stop Another War" and The New Republic's reply to it, which appeared together in the June 30 issue, illustrate the "tragic inadequacy of logic alone to deal effectively with functional living." He finds that neither opinion faces up squarely to the problem of what course the United States should pursue in world affairs. . . . E. T. Dana, Palo Alto, California, has read Max Eastman's letter to The New Republic [July 7] and wants to know what conclusion he draws about the technique of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mr. Dana's own opinion is that what has happened in the USSR is simply the inevitable price of dictatorship.

David Magnus of Brooklyn feels that The New Republic is neglecting its duty in not making more frequent critical mention of the continued pressure for a bigger military budget. . . . Judge Henry Neil writes from Evanston, Illinois, and says the Post Office Department has refused to allow him to send an article through the mails in which the words "syphilitic" and "prostitute" were used together, although it ruled the words were not obscene when used separately.

What's on the Air?

Secretary of War Harry F. Woodring is the speaker on the series of programs featuring members of President Roosevelt's Cabinet. Friday, August 6, 10:30 P.M., CBS.

Dr. Kirtley Mather, director of the Harvard University Summer School, leads a discussion of the "Art of Living in a Social World." Thursday, August 12, 6 to 6:15 P.M., NBC-Red Network.

International rebroadcasts from the Salzburg Music Festival in Austria are heard over the NBC-Red Network, with Toscanini conducting "The Magic Flute" on Saturday, August 7, 2 to 3:15 P.M., and Bruno Walter conducting Mozart's "Figaro" on Wednesday, August 11, 2:05 to 2:45 P.M. The Lewisohn Stadium concert of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra is broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting System on Sunday, August 8, at 10 P.M.

All times given are Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unbranded Steer

A Maverick American, by Maury Maverick. New York: Covici-Friede. 392 pages. $3.

THIS BOOK by Maury Maverick, who needs no introduction to readers of The New Republic, is a book only because it has covers. What it most nearly resembles is a big valise into which Maverick has stuffed a collection of ideas, social comment, biographical notes, etc., like somebody in a desperate hurry to make the 6:15. The job at hand, you gather, was not to arrange a slick exhibit for a Fifth Avenue window but to get everything in. Maverick gets everything in, all right, no fooling about that. Childhood memories, forgotten and neglected bits of American history, life in the hobo jungles, Rex Tugwell and Resettlement, WPA, the Supreme Court—the suitcase contains them all, plus a lot more. It bulges, its sides swell out, you have a picture of Maverick sitting on it trying to get the damned thing closed (confound it, here's something else I forgot to put in!) the whole thing threatening to get the better of him and fly apart at any moment. . . .

This gives it, however (this and the simplicity of Maverick's talk: for the book is talked, not written), a quality of unaffectedness, even breeziness, that tends to minimize the hard, earnest thinking that has gone into it. We have got so used to Serious Thinkers, saying essentially simple things in a highly specialized vocabulary (the process, really, is not altogether unlike that of a squid darkening clear water by squirting out its liquid smoke-screen) that when Maverick says "The Constitution gave us a government, but nowadays, when the people do something through the government, it is generally 'unconstitutional,'" we are apt to dismiss it as a crack. It is a crack, of course, but it is rooted in fact and actuality. It comes out of something deeper and more searching than the bright metropolitan cleverness that gave birth to the phrase, for example, "Nothing the New Deal has done couldn't have been better accomplished by an earthquake."

Maverick has a talent for taking a complicated subject and reducing it to a few sentences, generally with a hook at the end. He dislikes, and makes no bones about it, what he calls "professional jargon." That's pretty stiff, and a few clarifying definitions would be in order, but what Maverick is protesting against is the squid-principle. "Let us have knowledge," he writes, "all we can get. But let us express it so we can understand it." And by "we" he means, not a limited informed audience, but the great masses of American people. This is not a plea for careless or sloppy speech. It pleads, on the contrary, for very careful and exact speech—the kind of speech anyone who has tried to discuss a difficult problem with an uneducated audience knows to be necessary. At any rate, Maverick practises what he preaches: and he comes off, for the most part, successfully enough. For example:

> American families, through their government, have a right to live like human beings. A way must be found. In the old days if you wanted water, you could find a river or creek and plunk yourself down on it. Unfortunately, however, people kept on being born and the late-comers found the river, the fertile field and the forest all fenced off. It certainly does not mean that they must go without. *Coöperative endeavor is then forced upon us. Only by such endeavor can we have the things we lack.* For certainly, all this talk about how a man should have self-reliance and initiative and be a good American like our sturdy forefathers, when a man has to grow corn on a pavement, is sheer cruelty. To tell the man in the country who is without a supply of water and has a farm hopelessly eroded, with taxes he cannot pay, that he must be a strong individual—and refuse coöperation, aid or benefit from his own government—is to ask him to be a fool, and to commit suicide. America must pull off her blindfolds, and pull out her earplugs. Though she may blink a while, and have rumbling in the ears, she will finally see that the whole pioneer philosophy has changed from individual isolation to coöperative endeavor.

It should be obvious, from this passage, that Maverick has not written (nor did he try to write, fortunately) a new theory or philosophy of government. He frankly admits that he is a politician, who has to get himself elected, and he describes himself, with unbecoming modesty, as "an ordinary man with ordinary ideas, hoping to solve at least a few elementary problems. I want to write a story not so much of myself as of us, of the various emotions and longings that are common to us all. Some of us have lived in poverty, some of us have gotten too fat, some too thin. We are all in the same boat. We all want to reach the shore. We all want to live with some liberty, in an ordinary world free of war and violence."

Maverick, as I have already written, can't be put into any political frame. You can pull and tug but he doesn't fit. I don't see that it makes any difference. It is one of the things, as a matter of fact, I like most about him: and if he once rode a horse up the steps of the Capitol, thereby causing various and sundry High Thinkers to regard him askance, it's perfectly all right with me. It is possible to be serious without being a sour-puss and one's sincerity doesn't have to be worn on one's sleeve. This book reveals Maury Maverick as an earnest, warm, likable person with a fine sense of humor and a deep sense of social decency, and, personally, I wish we had more of the same.

HAMILTON BASSO.

The Older Romantics

The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Middle Years, 1806-1820. Arranged and Edited by Ernest de Selincourt. New York: The Oxford University Press. 2 vols. 962 pages. $14.

THE SECOND instalment of chronicles of the Wordsworth family necessarily lacks somewhat of the interest of the earlier volume, covering the critical years 1787-1805. By the latter date the poets, William and Dorothy, had reached the "C-major of this life," and their story, told chiefly by Dorothy in her letters to Mrs. Clarkson, is that of an English middle-class family living in a country village amid external circumstances which recall Miss Austen's novels. Many letters were addressed to Richard Wordsworth, who had charge of the small property on which the family depended for income and who showed himself most remiss in letting them know where they stood. There was much illness, Mary Wordsworth feeble after child-bearing, her sister Sara threatened with tuberculosis, the children gaining and losing health. The loss of the two youngest, Thomas and Catherine, in 1812, was a tragedy which shook even the father's stoicism, and Dorothy's tenderness knew no abatement of sorrow.

During much of this period Wordsworth was working on "The Excursion," and his anxiety as to its reception was intense. Jeffrey's contemptuous review called forth many answering sneers: "He is a depraved coxcomb; the greatest Dunce, I believe, in this Island, and assuredly the Man

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who takes most pains to prove himself so." A letter to Mrs. Clarkson in reply to another critic is important as showing Wordsworth's own conception of his view of God and Nature: "She [the critic] talks of my being a worshiper of Nature. A passionate expression uttered incautiously in the poem upon the Wye, has led her into this mistake. . . . Whence does she gather that the author of 'The Excursion' looks upon Nature and God as the same? He does not indeed consider the Supreme Being as bearing the same relation to the Universe, as a watch-maker bears to a watch."

References to Annette and Caroline Vallon show that the secret discovered by Professor Harper was no secret in the intimate circle of Wordsworth's friends. The marriage of Caroline, "my niece," was discussed by Dorothy, whose plan to attend the wedding with Sara Hutchinson was spoiled by Napoleon's return. That Wordsworth continued to exercise the rights of paternity appears in his postponement of the marriage for a year until the young people had an increase of income. After the final return of Louis XVIII, Annette, who is spoken of as a passionate loyalist, was able to give this assurance. Dorothy relayed her account of the fête to Mrs. Clarkson: "Thirty persons were present to dinner, ball and supper. The deputies of the department and many other respectable people were there—the Bride . . . 'was the admiration of all who beheld her but her modesty was her best ornament.'" Later Southey saw the happy family in Paris and reported that Caroline was "the image of John Wordsworth—and something like Dorothy" (Wordsworth's legitimate children).

The chief personal interest of these letters is, of course, Coleridge. When they begin, the Wordsworths were excited and anxious over his return from Malta, through the war zone. Later there was anxiety because of the rift between Coleridge and his wife, and the fate of the children, in whom Wordsworth continued to take a deep interest. Coleridge's infatuation for Sara Hutchinson was a complication. In May or June, 1803, Wordsworth was writing indignantly to Coleridge repudiating among other charges, that Sara's letters were censored. "She is thirty-four years of age and what have I to do with overlooking her letters!" When Sara left Grasmere Dorothy rationalized her relation to Coleridge: "True it is she was the cause of the continuance of 'The Friend' so long; but I am far from believing that it would have gone on if she had stayed. He was tired, and she had at last no power to drive him on; and now I really believe that *he* also is glad that she is not here, because he has nobody to teize him." And she added passionately "Do not think that it is his love for Sara which has stopped him in his work. Do not believe it: his love for her is no more than a fanciful dream." In an elegiac strain she commented later: "He will not let himself be served by others. Oh, that the day may ever come when he will serve himself! Then will his eyes be opened, and he will see clearly that we have loved him always, do still [love] him, and have ever loved."

These suppressed passions, like the family tragedies, run like subterranean tremors beneath the placid surface of domestic life. Even the impeccable Southey household was shaken. A certain Miss Barker, rich enough to be a patroness, took the house next, as Dorothy wrote, "solely on Southey's account, and it is a hard case for her that Southey should so yield to the influence of his wife and her Sisters as to make him blind to the solitude and uncomfortableness of Miss B's situation if deprived of his society." Altogether the elder group of romantics paid dearly for their virtuous reprobation of the Satanic School. For Dorothy as for Southey the warning held true: "That way madness lies."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Spender's Left Hand

Forward from Liberalism, by Stephen Spender. New York: Random House. 291 pages. $2.

IF A MAN has organized his values about the slogan "liberal," and he is addressing people who have similarly organized their values, it seems as good a starting point as any other. Everything then depends upon the qualifications introduced *en route*.

The qualifications usually present much trouble. Liberalism as a *practice* (as Spender points out, along with many other writers) is connected with private ownership of the productive plant. But its needs and opportunities generated an *ideal* that, in the minds of some, is felt to require the abolition of such ownership.

One might conceivably frame the issue in another way. Beginning with the Creation as given, and employing the customary strategy of science in using it as the material basis of reference, one might note that the body lives by locomotion, or freedom of movement. One might hold that the value arising "superstructurally" above this biologo-economic "substructure" is a love of freedom. And one might then deduce that the drive for the alienation of property (that began in earnest with the rise of the bourgeoisie) was the translation of this value into the idiom of a specific economic texture. One could then proceed to show that the resources of this idiom have been exhausted (that it never did offer the highest communicative possibilities, and is now further impaired by having come close to the limits of its "inner contradictions").

If you go back to a "biological" foundation for the value of liberty, however, you frighten your colleagues, to whom the mere *mention* of biology automatically suggests the genetic theories of Nazism. And if, on the other hand, you leave the matter wholly on the historical plane, you must always be at once asserting and retracting. For liberalism as a historic movement *is* bound up with bourgeois modes of ownership. And as a historical ideal, it cannot be severed from its historical economic context. Hence, if one would shun a biological basis of reference for liberalism (with bourgeois modes of ownership being located as a restricted and eventually self-destructive way of expressing this biologically grounded value) one must be continually floundering in an ambiguity, admiring as pure "ideal" what one must condemn in its historical practice.

Spender traces this ambiguity throughout liberal thought. Yet he does not himself manage to "transcend" it. In the end, you are left wondering where his value is grounded. Is it grounded in business, or isn't it? If it is, how can it survive business—or what new shapes must it take?

As things stand, his equating of communism with liberalism (viewing communism as the logical conclusion of liberalism, and all departures as merely regrettable but temporary) is not illuminating. He would sever the ideal from the practice—and is so confined by his efforts to solve this basic dilemma that he cannot advance the discussion beyond its customary stage. His position is not essentially different from that of Wilde in his "Soul of Man under Socialism."

Collectivism, in other words, is not considered as a new perspective that alters individualism. Instead, collectivism is merely the extension of individualism in the same direction. I submit that such an approach will, and should, prepare one for disillusionment.

The book rarely calls forth the flashes we have come to expect of Spender as a poet. In turning from poetry to prose, he says in effect that he does not place a very high

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

value upon prose. Only occasionally, in a short passage that seems like notes for a poem, do we feel that the writer has recommended his cause (as a writer should) by packing it with invention to the extent of his abilities. (He comes nearest to this in the short chapter, "Questions and Answers: Statement," which, along with some pages on Aldous Huxley, we should rate as by far the best portions of the book.) KENNETH BURKE.

Emperor of the Bourgeois

Bonaparte, by Eugene Tarlé. Translated by John Cournos. New York: Knight Publications. 432 pages. $4.50.

ON THE French Revolution some very fine books have been written from the Marxian standpoint; only one of them, Peter Kropotkin's "The Great French Revolution," was ever published in English, and even that, I am told, is now out of print. Professor Tarlé's book on Napoleon is, to my knowledge, the first full-length portrait of the great Corsican done by a Marxist. It combines profound and original scholarship with a fine talent for narration and exposition. The English translation is highly readable. But there are too many printer's errors, and the index is quite inadequate, especially for a book so packed with novel information.

In the opening paragraphs of "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," Marx sums up the achievements of the first Napoleon in a few words: "Within France he created the conditions under which free competition could develop, the parceled landed property be exploited, the unshackled industrial productive power of the nation be utilized; beyond the French frontiers he swept away the feudal forms so far as requisite, in order to furnish bourgeois society in France the environment appropriate to it on the European continent, in accordance with the needs of the age." Brief as it is, this epitome of the most eventful individual career in modern history is astonishingly complete. It includes everything Napoleon did that has endured; it excludes everything he did that vanished with his power. Professor Tarlé does not mention it, but his masterly book is in a sense an extended commentary on it and provides the skeleton with living flesh and blood.

In what respects is this new biography superior to other biographies of Napoleon, some of which are really very fine in their own way? First and foremost in this, that on each occasion, with regard to every important event or policy, we are informed concerning its economic effects; and not only generally, but specifically, in regard to each particular class: the bourgeoisie in its various layers and segments, the intelligentsia, the peasantry, the wage workers, in France and in the conquered lands. It is thus, and only thus, that we gain a really adequate understanding of the policies, the laws, the wars and the final revolt of the entire Continent. And as a corollary to this, we learn precisely the attitude of Napoleon toward the various social classes and their attitude toward him. Thus we knew before that Napoleon's dictatorship was entirely devoted to the interests of the bourgeoisie, but Professor Tarlé shows how, notwithstanding this devotion, an acute economic crisis was provoked by the contradictions between the politics and the economics of the regime. We also knew that the dictatorship was cold to the needs of the masses, but Professor Tarlé shows that it was consciously directed against the propertyless; the wage-workers not only remained deprived of all political rights (the Legislative Assembly had attended to that as far back as 1792), but by means of the "labor books" which Napoleon introduced and without which no employer was permitted to hire workers, they were subjected to a condition closely bordering on slavery; the blacklist was made the law of the land and every employer was turned into a policeman. Even in his hour of direst need, on his return from Elba, when the peasants and town workers, who detested the Bourbons, were eager to flock to his standard, Napoleon shrank from appealing to the *canaille;* he had been the emperor of the bourgeois, and he was determined not to become the emperor of the dispossessed. Likewise at another crisis in his career, when he was in Moscow, he might have smashed Tsardom by liberating the serfs in the vast territory that had come temporarily under his control; the Russian army, composed largely of serfs, would have disintegrated and melted away under that stroke. But the man who tamed the Revolution in France shrank from provoking a *jacquerie* in Russia; it went against his grain.

This, then, is the chief distinction of Professor Tarlé's book: it enables us to reach down to the economic and class foundations of the Napoleonic regime. But it has many other merits. I have space to refer to only one of them. Throughout the Napoleonic era Russia played an immensely important role in the politics of western Europe, and Professor Tarlé gives us an occasional glimpse into the workings of the Russian mind of that time. Thus, during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, the Russian commander-in-chief, Kutuzov, was reproached by the English commissioner, General Wilson, for lack of energy in the pursuit. Kutuzov snapped back that in his opinion the complete destruction of the French army was not at all desirable: "Napoleon's legacy would not be destined for Russia, nor for any other continental country, but for that country which even now dominates the seas and whose sway would then become unendurable." Old Kutuzov soon died and his view did not prevail with the emperor Alexander, but it is well known that at the Congress of Vienna the Russians were disposed to be far more lenient toward France than the other victors. HERMAN SIMPSON.

Trial by Fury

Whirlpool, by David Lamson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

IN FICTION, David Lamson rounds out the account of his own experiences that he began in "We Who Are About to Die." Having had three trials and spent thirteen months in Condemned Row before he was acquitted for the murder of his wife, he does not need to draw on his imagination to describe the lawful chicanery that can send an innocent man to the death house. His story deals with Hannibal Norfolk, who is arrested for the murder of his missing brother because of a skeleton found on his farm. Omitting any description of the trial itself, it focuses attention sternly on those influences which discolor our judicial proceedings: newspaper sensationalism, undiscriminating public clamor, local police officials seeking only the enhancement of their own prestige, intimidation of the jury minority.

Yet the book is not so successful as "We Who Are About to Die." The characters fall a bit too neatly into pat situations and illustrative types to emerge as individuals; they are less human than those fellow convicts whom Lamson sketched with such grim objectivity in his first book. The bullying under-sheriff, fearful for his own position, the righteous young district attorney, the querulous wife who learns devotion through catastrophe, the missing

LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brother who sentimentalizes his plight till it is too late—these are all familiar. Hannibal himself never comes to life so vividly as do the machinations by which the small town is incensed against him, or political wire-pulling dominates his arrest, or a jury predisposed to believe the worst is selected to pronounce his doom. The story of Hannibal's tragedy serves only as a melodramatic framework; but the indictment Mr. Lamson hangs on it is brutal and important. MIRIAM BORGENICHT.

The Advance on the Mind

A Mind Mislaid, by Henry Collins Brown. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 219 pages. $2.

A Mind Restored, by Elsa Krauch. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 254 pages. $2.50.

The Spectacle of a Man, by John Coignard. New York: Jefferson House. $2.50.

EACH OF these books purports to tell the true story of a mature, successful man who went haywire and through various forms of psychiatric treatment was finally restored to normal. In content "A Mind Mislaid" and "A Mind Restored" are strikingly similar. The heroes of both books suffered from that comparatively gentle form of insanity called "depressive." They had strong suicidal urges and were formally committed to institutions which they both describe as "nut houses."

The protagonist of Miss Krauch's book is referred to as "Jim Curran." Although he does not sign this story of his life, he is supposed to be telling it in his own swift sentences. There may be an actual Jim Curran and he may have lived through all of the experiences which he here describes; yet one doubts the complete authenticity of his tale, not just because it so painstakingly disguises all the persons and places it mentions but because in its entirety it is too pat. Jim Curran was a left-handed baby and an only child. He adored his mother, hated his father, was mistreated by most of his other relatives and forced to wear sissy clothes. Deaths, desertions and divorces all occurred at psychologically critical periods in his life. And when he at last broke under this accumulative psychic load he did not go straight to the state hospital where he stays for the greater part of his book, but visited successively every type of mental hospital extant today.

Henry Collins Brown tells his own story and he tells it straight, though with considerable charm and humor. He names the asylum to which he was committed (Bloomingdale), the doctors who talked with him there (among them Gregory Zilboorg and Zürich's famous Professor Bleuler), and he says just what he thinks about the benefits he received. At the time he could see little value in most of the items in his cure—the hot baths, the cold showers and the perpetual Pollyannish air of the place. Yet after three years of such treatment he did get well, as his book bears convincing evidence, for it is hard to imagine a saner mood than that in which this seventy-five-year-old man looks back upon and describes his three-year sojourn in "the land of the Cuckoos." There is no self-pity in his recital and no groveling, maudlin gratitude. It is a detached, tolerant and often vastly amusing account of a highly important human experience told by a man who has a sense of values and knows how to write.

The author of "The Spectacle of a Man" goes Miss Krauch several better and recasts the psychoanalytical case history of one Arnold Harvester into a frankly fictional form. This technique is supposed to have produced a "convincing," "dramatic" and "fascinating" human document. It may have done all that, but it has also made a dreadfully dreary novel. GRACE ADAMS.

The Mind of Man: The Story of Man's Conquest of Mental Illness, by Walter Bromberg. New York: Harper and Brothers. 337 pages and 16 plates. $3.50.

The Mentally Ill in America: A History of Their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times, by Albert Deutsch. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 550 pages. $3.

THESE books fill a need long felt by layman and professional alike for a comprehensive and sound history and account of modern psychiatric thought. Even for the professional man the facts now brought together have in the past been accessible only to one spending hours of research in a well stocked library. Hours of research, it may be added, which these books make it clear have been carried out by very few psychiatrists.

One is astonished at the ages-long and horrible fight necessary for the psychologically abnormal to obtain recognition as simple human beings in pain and distress, deserving of the consideration we give our neighbor with a toothache, let us say. It is clear also that the fight is not wholly won even yet, though a decisive victory seems to have been obtained in differentiating the human mind with its impulses and emotions from the belief in the soul, so that the mind can now take its place as something mundane and subject to objective intervention. No longer need the psychopathic individual feel that he is regarded ambivalently as something less than an animal, or as divine, or devilish.

The first of these books, written by a doctor primarily for laymen, shows the slow development of this insight against all the opposing forces of superstition, religion and economic pressure in the service of ignorance and sadism. It is a cross-section of the ideas held by man through seven thousand years of recorded history. Yet it is interesting to note that a sampling today of the beliefs held by visitors, staff and patients in any large psychopathic hospital would probably produce examples of all of the cruel superstitions and absurd therapeutic beliefs cited by Dr. Bromberg.

The other book is a survey by a layman written primarily for psychiatrists and social workers, but one which can be read with profit by any layman interested in the humanities. It records the history of the care and treatment of the mentally ill in America with such a mass of judiciously selected and interesting detail and sober, even slightly skeptical and ironic judgment, that it is difficult to think of an aspect of the question that has not been comprehensively touched on. Here one sees clearly exemplified (in the story of Mrs. E. P. Packard and Clifford Beers, the founder of the Mental Hygiene movement) how much of our present-day enlightenment is the creation of psychopaths working against the opposition of the medical world and other cultural forces of the time. A final chapter gives an up-to-the-minute notice of the latest therapeutic theories and findings.

It is a pleasure to record that both books give an authoritative and sound account of psychoanalysis. I doubt if the average psychoanalytic fee is so high nowadays as those cited as typical by Albert Deutsch. Dr. Bromberg devotes three chapters to psychoanalysis and its founder, giving a picture which is devoid of mythology and which for the first time presents an adequate account of Freudian theory in relation to its two chief offshoots. This provides a correction long needed in the United States, where it has been customary to mention Freud, Jung and Adler in the same breath.

Both books contain a comprehensive bibliography and an index. GEORGE B. WILBUR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Camera Who's Who

As I Remember: The Autobiography of Arnold Genthe, with 112 photographic illustrations by the author. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 304 pages. $5.

ARNOLD GENTHE came of a clan of teachers, architects and artists. At Jena he specialized in classical philology. While waiting for an appointment he came to America, fell in love with its vastness and freedom and never went back. Instead of a German professor he became a noted American photographer. He is perhaps most famous for his dance pictures, which eclipse earlier efforts in their fluidity, rhythm and repose. The list of his portraits reads like a popular Who's Who covering forty years. Dancers, actors, financiers and Presidents, writers and society women chatting with him wondered when he would begin and found it was all over. The resulting photographs were lifelike, vivacious and beautifully composed. His first amateur shots were taken surreptitiously in San Francisco's Chinatown. From these beginnings, in which he learned his hair-trigger technique, grew two distinguished series, American and foreign scenes. Here are Chinese aristocrats, missions, snake dancers, Greek temples and modern hermits, Ainu elders and Spanish courtyards, the work of a highly skilled esthete who is also a man of the world and a thoroughly good fellow. Accustomed to the socially inspired work of the younger photographers one is struck by the complete absence of industrial subjects or design. The text is smooth, pleasant and amusingly anecdotal. The social and amorous errors of Isadora jostle the remark of the French Ambassador when he tasted the Woodrow Wilsons' teetotal punch. There are also notes on the growth of esthetic feeling in this country. The book is beautifully made and the many illustrations are a delight.

CLARA GRUENING STILLMAN.

Books in Brief

Scientific Interests in the Old South, by Thomas Cary Johnson Jr. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, published for the Virginia University Institute for Research in the Social Sciences. 224 pages. $2.50.

THIS STUDY is a spirited defense of scientific achievement in the Old South, not only against its Northern detractors, but, as he explicitly states, against those "Southern gentlemen who take their stand in Dixie," defend "its agrarian tradition" and exalt the "butterfingeredness of the Southerner—except with firearms, perhaps—" into a cult. His work is not only spirited but exceedingly thorough. Something of a liberal constructionist both as regards "Southerner" and "scientific interest," he includes a considerable number of real contributions too often overlooked by hasty sectional generalizers. So zealous in fact has been his search for such authentic instances, that he also gathered and failed to discard a considerable number of fairly trivial items. One might even say that if any of us again ignores the fact that a scientific lecture was delivered, a specimen cabinet set up, that a sweet Southern girl botanized or professed a romantic interest in the stars, that the name of a science was mentioned in the prospectus of a private academy, or a correspondent of Darwin or Lyell exicted anywhere South of Mason and Dixon's Line before 1860, it will certainly be no fault of Professor Johnson's.

M. G.

Intervention, Civil War and Communism in Russia: April-December, 1918, Documents and Materials, by James Bunyan. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 607 pages. $4.50.

This book contains a collection of source material dealing with foreign intervention, civil war and the organization of the communist order in Russia after the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with Germany. Official documents are included in copious measure but, even more important, Mr. Bunyan makes available to the English reader for the first time a multitude of quotations from speeches, news reports, memoirs and debates that convey a dramatic sense of the chaos and confusion of the period and the bewildering complexity of the forces at play. The materials, drawn from a wide variety of sources, are grouped conveniently around general topics: Austro-German and Allied intervention, the clash with the Czechoslovaks, Bolshevik efforts to aid revolution abroad, anti-Bolshevik movements within Russia, the Cheka and the Red Army, the establishment of the new economic order, the Bolsheviks and the peasants, and political and educational reforms. Each section is introduced by a valuable historical sketch which illuminates the background of the documents.

S. F. B.

The Other Half, by John Worby. New York: Lee Furman. 307 pages. $2.50.

Here is another best seller from England purporting to be a genuine, unvarnished account of low life, and definitely designed to tickle the bourgeois without seriously disturbing anyone. In this case it's the autobiography of Mr. John Worby, aged twenty-five, who, like Oliver Twist, meets misfortune in Chapter I and, unlike Oliver Twist, meets a homosexual in Chapter II. It is not recorded whether Mr. Worby asked for more, but at all events he got it—either a woman or a pervert in every chapter. In fact you'd be surprised at all the things that can happen to a young scallawag with no money and a certain amount of imagination, instead of just starving and being wretched. According to Francis Iles, who is a very popular London critic, "this is a record of life at its lowest and rawest." Of course it is nothing of the kind, and Francis Iles's comment is a pretty fair indication of the debased standards of popular literary criticism in England.

M. S.

Gentleman Overboard, by Herbert Clyde Lewis. New York: The Viking Press. $1.50.

This is the psychological study of a man who falls from the deck of a freighter into the Pacific Ocean. The man is a gentleman and feels foolish in his predicament. It does not occur to him that he will drown. He thinks he will be saved and for thirteen hours he continues to think so, while the thoughts flow through his head and embarrassment slowly turns to fear. Finally his heart bursts and he drowns. The book has no vast implications nor does it pretend to any. Occasionally it suggests that a gentleman is turning into a man; but for the most part it stays with its psychological theme. The prose is strong, the telling has a nice fluidity and the suspense is well carried out.

C. L.

Snakes and Their Ways, by C. H. Curran and Carl Kauffeld. New York: Harper and Brothers. 285 pages. $3.50.

In this book Dr. C. H. Curran of the American Museum of Natural History and Mr. Carl Kauffeld, Curator of Herpetology at the Staten Island Zoo, have gathered much

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interesting and important information about snakes—snake farms, snake doctors, snake worship and snake superstitions. Using the language of the layman but the technique of the scientist, Dr. Curran and Mr. Kauffeld examine many of the myths that are current about snakes and show how fact has been corrupted by fancy. The book makes extremely good reading provided one is interested to know, along with many other things, that death from constrictors is due not to crushing of the bones or suffocation, as is commonly believed, but from stoppage of the heart; or that snakes are, for the most part, highly specialized in their feeding, some eating only one kind of food or prey; or that those snakes eating birds have a venom of higher toxicity, reacting on the nervous system almost immediately, preventing the escape of their prey; or that Maine is the only state in the Union that has no poisonous snakes. Altogether this is probably one of the best general books on herpetology that has yet been published. E. S. B.

New Books: A Reader's List

AND SO—VICTORIA, by Vaughan Wilkins (Macmillan; $2.50). Anthony Adverse, reincarnated as Christopher Harnish, offspring of an unsavory royal complication, in the years preceding Victoria's accession to the throne. The hero's adventures involve plots and counterplots and travel over his contemporary world, with stops at plenty of courts and murderous scandals of a peculiarly gross kind. The Hanoverian monarchs must have been incredibly dull, or Mr. Wilkins short of the right spices, for all the king's horseplay and all the king's sins fail to make the book interesting.

THE ANATOMY OF MURDER: A SYMPOSIUM (Macmillan; $2.50). Seven members of the London Detection Club, including Dorothy Sayers, Francis Iles and Freeman Wills Croft, have written critical analyses of their favorite criminal cases, Francis Iles taking chief honors for a brilliant essay on the Rattenbury case. The result is a treat for detective-fiction readers and students of crime.

Contributors

JONATHAN MITCHELL is familiar to readers of The New Republic as a writer on political and economic topics. He lives in Washington, D. C.

EDGAR SNOW is a young American who studied at the University of Missouri and Columbia University before embarking in 1927 on a career of a roving correspondent that has carried him all over the world. He is one of the few foreigners who ever penetrated Soviet China and is the first journalist to report on his findings there.

FRANK WINN is a member of the executive staff of the United Automobile Workers of America.

ALBERT G. PICKERELL has worked on several newspapers in the tri-state region described in his article, and after one year spent in teaching has returned to newspaper work. He and George Milburn recently made a tour of the lead-mining country.

LEON DORAIS is another of the talented story writers who have appeared on the Pacific Coast in recent years, and various magazines are beginning to publish his work. He lives in San Diego, California.

JOSEPHINE MILES is writing on the language of poetry as part of her work toward a Ph.D. at the University of California. Her verse has appeared in The New Republic, Poetry, The Saturday Review and other magazines.

HAMILTON BASSO is spending the summer at his home at Pisgah Forest, North Carolina. His third novel, "Courthouse Square," was published last fall by Scribner's.

KENNETH BURKE'S newest book, "Attitudes Toward History," was recently published as one of the titles in The New Republic Dollar Series.

HERMAN SIMPSON, who has contributed extensively to various magazines, was formerly an editor of The New York Call.

MIRIAM BORGENICHT is a recent graduate of Barnard College and is now freelancing in New York City.

GRACE ADAMS is the author of "Psychology: Science or Superstition?" and "Your Child Is Normal."

GEORGE B. WILBUR is an M. D. practising psychology and psychoanalysis on Cape Cod.

CLARA GRUENING STILLMAN is the author of "Samuel Butler: A Mid-Victorian Modern."

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Martha Gruening, Solomon F. Bloom, Michael Sayers, Cecil Lubell and Etolia S. Basso.

GREEN MANSIONS
A Complete Modern Camp for Adults in the Adirondacks
New 22-room Club-house, each room with private bath
Private golf course, tennis courts handball courts, and all other sports facilities
Professional Theatrical Company
Chamber Music
Full Schedule of Rates on Request.
LENA BARISH SAM GARLEN
Directors
New York City Office—11 W. 42 St.
Telephone BRyant 9-1738
GREEN MANSIONS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.

RIVERSIDE INN on Lake Housatonic. Swimming, boating, tennis; 1¾ hours from New York. August week-ends, $3.50 per day. $19.00 weekly. Station Derby. P. O. Seymour, Conn. Tel. Derby 598-12.

LANGUAGES

LANGUAGE PHONE SETS. Bought, sold, rented, exchanged. Language Service. 507 5th Avenue, N. Y.

RESORTS

The Sophistication of a Smart Country Club...The Convenience of a Modern Hotel. All land and water sports...18 hole golf course...11 piece orchestra.

The CEDARS COUNTRY CLUB LAKEVILLE Connecticut

CORRESPONDENCE CLUB

OUR CLEVER MODERN inventors create many nice designs for living, but there is no substitute for a REAL FRIEND. Enclose 3c stamp. CONTACTS, Box 91 Station D, New York City.

EXHIBITION

FROM A MOSCOW MUSEUM
FREE EXHIBIT
Of beautiful reproductions by Soviet technicians from the French section of the MUSEUM of MODERN WESTERN ART in MOSCOW. Admission Free.
WORKERS BOOKSHOP
50 East 13th Street New York City

LITERARY HELP

RESEARCH WORK, GHOST WRITING by editors of reputation. Our research and literary staff is equipped to handle the literary needs of students, professionals and business men. Theses, speeches, articles, biographies, difficult letters at truly moderate rates. SLOANE-PARKER LITERARY SERVICE, Studio 5-F, 30 Fifth Avenue, New York City. GRamercy 5-6143

THESIS WORK, RESEARCH PAPERS. Special articles. Addresses promptly prepared to requirements of busy professionals. Our extensive experience available at moderate rates, with assurance of scholarly, serviceable results. Authors Research Bureau. 516 Fifth Avenue, New York.

SHARE APARTMENT

EDUCATED, liberal couple to share Greenwich Village apartment with widower of many interests and son, 3, attending progressive nursery school. Address: Box No. 34, The New Republic.

KITTENS FOR SALE

THREE PEDIGREED SIAMESE KITTENS for sale at a reasonable price. Write Ruth Pease, Changewater, N. J., or call Washington (N. J.), 169 W1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED